THE GOP EMPATHY GAP
LAILA LALAMI

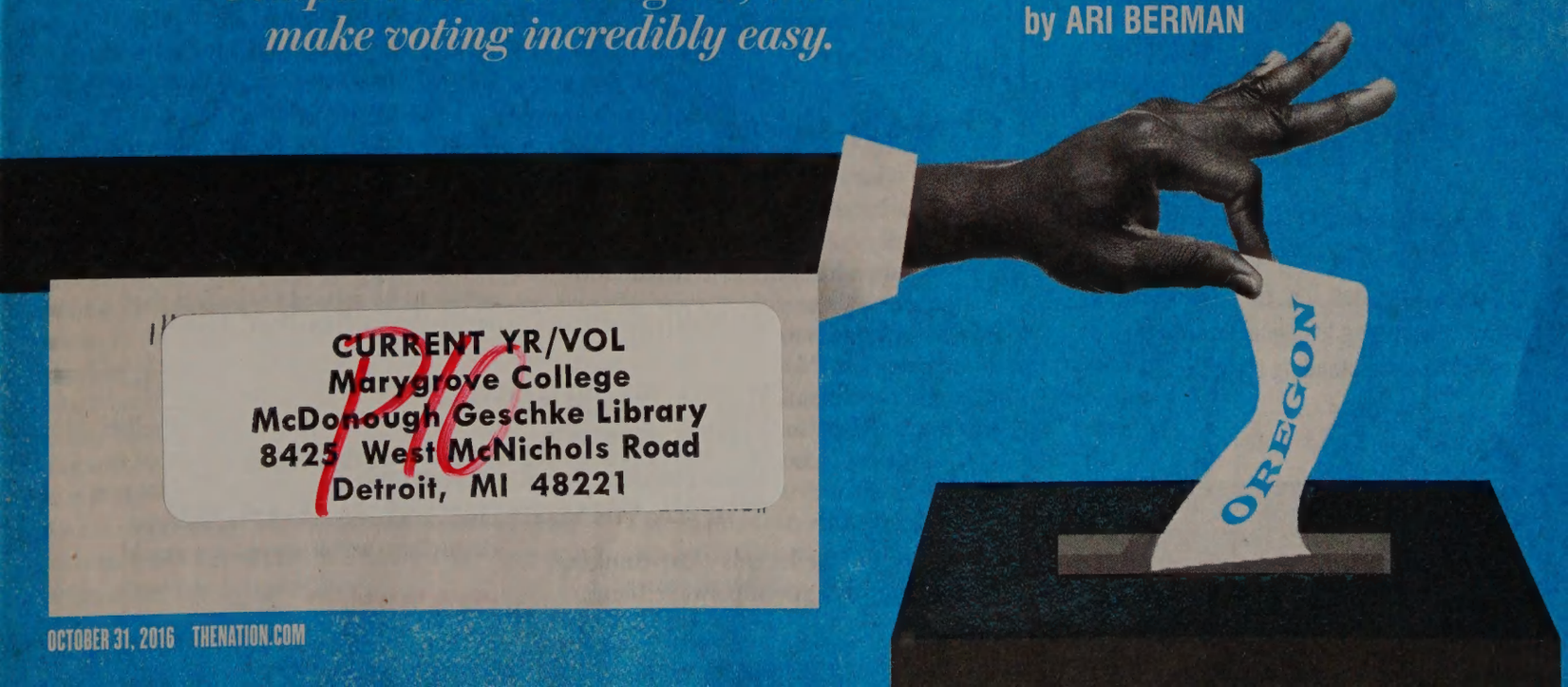
THE TWO POPULISMS
JEDEDIAH PURDY

The Nation.

Texas's Jim Crow Voting Laws

Compare them to Oregon's, which make voting incredibly easy.

by ARI BERMAN



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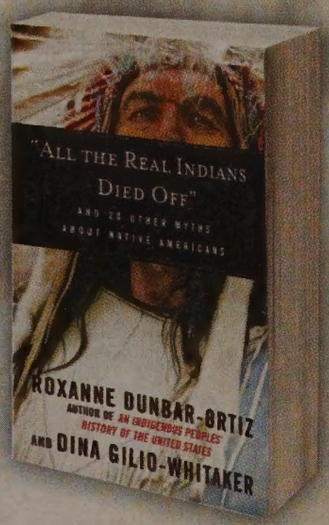
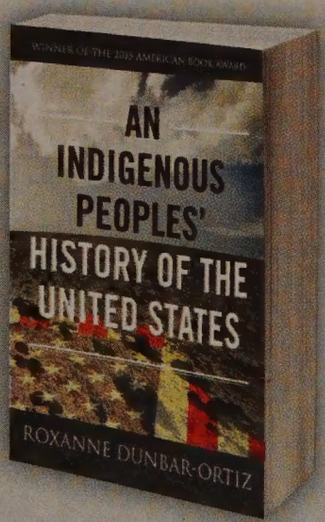
RETHINK
WHAT YOU'VE BEEN TAUGHT
ABOUT
NATIVE AMERICANS


"ALL THE REAL INDIANS DIED OFF"
AND 20 OTHER MYTHS ABOUT NATIVE AMERICANS
ROXANNE DUNBAR-ORTIZ
AUTHOR OF AN INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES
AND DINA GILIO-WHITAKER

Disrupts long-held and enduring myths about Native American culture and history such as "Sports Mascots Honor Native Americans," "Indians Were Savage and Warlike," "Indian Casinos Make Them All Rich," and 18 more.



With growing support for movements such as the campaign to replace Columbus Day with Indigenous Peoples' Day, this is an essential resource providing historical threads that are crucial for understanding the present.

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Letters

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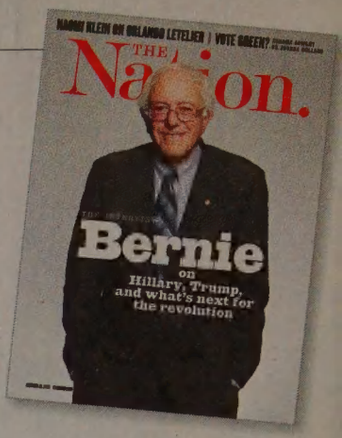

Hello, Goodbye

It seems fitting to welcome *The Nation*'s new literary editor, David Marcus, in the same issue that his predecessor, John Palattella, not only tenders his final Books & the Arts section (though he'll be staying on the masthead as editor at large) but reviews a book ["Shelf Life," Oct. 10]. I heard John speak a handful of times at our weekly editorial meetings with a clever if unintentional strategy: He pitched his voice so low that we were forced to lean in and really attend to his words. (When Jesse Jackson visited the office recently, his rhetorical strategy was similar, but with an uppercut: Stay low, pull listeners in close, then thump us with punctuation.) John's review mentions the poet Susan Howe, reminding me that during his tenure as literary editor he published her essay "Vagrancy in the Park" [Oct. 15, 2015]. A line from that essay seems appropriate here: "Words supersede and displace the reality of an object." John only physically departs *The Nation*'s headquarters; thankfully, he doesn't leave. Keep the words coming!

Tom Schloegel
Associate Publisher, Development
The Nation
New York City

Bern On, Bern Out

Re your recent cover story ["Bernie: The Interview," Oct. 10]: Bernie Sanders's "revolution" died the instant he endorsed that reactionary enemy of progressives, Hillary Clinton. Bernie's role was to play "shepherd," keeping progressives in the Democratic National Committee's "flock" and away from Jill Stein and the Greens. From Sandroid to Berned-out!

Robert J. Nelson
Salt Lake City, Utah

How did we let this clear-thinking, thoughtful guy slip away? Bang, bang, bang!—he's on target every time with what's wrong with our country, plus the solutions he offers are right on, spoken in clear language and with sound understanding. We need Bernie Sanders for president and the super expertise and organizing power of Hillary Clinton—in that order.

Mavis Roe
Tracy, Calif.

With or Without Her

Many of us in Kansas are on board with Katha Pollitt when it comes to supporting Hillary Clinton for president ["Time to Get On Board," Oct. 10]. We have lived with Governor Sam Brownback's disastrous policies in this state for too long to hand the presidency over to someone who would be even worse than him.

More important, what would anyone gain by not voting for Hillary? I'm amazed at the narrow vision of those who, because of their grievances against Clinton, will not vote or will throw their vote away on a third-party candidate, some of whom aren't any better than Donald Trump. When I heard Clinton speak at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995, I hoped she would someday run for president. She showed her true mettle in that speech.

Clinton may have her flaws, even though it seems to me her flaws are mostly media-generated. Since I seldom watch network or cable news, I am not hammered by the hateful rhetoric against her, much of which seems to be related to the fact that she's a woman.

During the Kansas primary, I took part in a panel for our local newspaper. Two of the four panelists supported Bernie Sanders; two of us supported Clinton. Our dialogue was civil. At the end of the videotaped discussion, we all agreed we would

letters@thenation.com

(continued on page 26)

The Nation.
since 1865

Predator and Strongman

Donald Trump knows no rule of law. Whatever the Republican nominee for president does—no matter how wrong, no matter how vile—he absolves himself of responsibility. Yet if a rival displeases him, he proposes investigation, prosecution, prison time. Trump does not merely celebrate the totalitarians of other times and other lands; he seeks to impose upon the United States a strongman politics that even Republicans have noted—and fear. Last February, Nebraska Senator Ben Sasse broke with Trump, observing that "he displays essentially no understanding of the fact that, in the American system, we have a constitutional system of checks and balances." Sasse added: "[Have] you noticed how Mr. Trump uses the word 'Reign'—like he thinks he's running for King? It's creepy, actually."

It's gotten a lot creepier as the November 8 election approaches. The release of an 11-year-old tape of the alleged billionaire talking about how powerful men "can do anything" they want to women—grab them, grope them, "move on" them, "anything"—led the National Organization for Women to issue a statement with this headline: "Donald Trump Promotes Sexual Assault As a Rich Man's Perk." In and of itself, this makes Trump unfit for the presidency. "Someone with such disrespect for women, with such a misogynistic lifestyle who boasts about using his power to sexually assault women cannot—and will not—be the leader of this country," said NOW president Terry O'Neill, as dozens of Republican congressional candidates abandoned their ticket mate.

Trump disqualified himself long ago with his xenophobia, his racial and religious bigotry, and his striking disregard for the Constitution. Yet his response to the tape revealed an even more menacing side: Trapped in a scandal of his own making, Trump lashed out during the second presidential debate at Hillary Clinton. As president, Trump said, he would "instruct my attorney general to get a special prosecutor" to investigate Clinton's handling of e-mails. Clinton responded, "It's just awfully good that someone with the temperament of Donald Trump is not in charge of the law in our country."

Trump suddenly put aside talk of special prosecutors and investigations and announced that the real reason Clinton didn't want him in the White House was "because you'd be in jail." The candidate whose rallies frequently erupt with chants of "Lock her up!" smirked. His supporters—inspired by years of right-wing media and GOP leadership smears against the Clintons, Obama, and Democrats in general—cheered a statement that was antithetical to every historic and contemporary understanding of the American democratic experiment, in which elections are intense, even brutal, but not winner-take-all conquests.

There are countries where the winners of political fights have moved to jail their rivals. But those countries are not understood to be constitutional democracies. Indeed, as presidential biographer David Maraniss explained after Trump's ominous announcement: "This is THE definition of fascism—Trump saying Hillary would be in jail if he were president."

Donald Trump is a son of privilege with regal aspirations, a well-dressed grifter who has taken advantage of every loophole to avoid paying taxes, avoid paying contractors, avoid his responsibilities as an employer, and avoid accountability for his abuse of women. Yet there are still many Republicans, like House Speaker Paul Ryan, who make excuses for him—suggesting that, while they cannot defend his words or deeds, they will support his candidacy. These reckless partisans are fools. They imagine that Trump's totalitarian impulses would be constrained by the presidency. But Trump has signaled, again and again, that this is not the case; that he is prepared to govern as an uncrowned king, a strongman, an authoritarian. Americans who disbelieve Trump do so at their own peril, and at peril to the Republic.

JOHN NICHOLS

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VOLUME 303, NUMBER 18, October 31, 2016

The digital version of this issue is available to all subscribers October 13 at TheNation.com.

Cover illustration by Michael Xiao.

QC BY THE NUMBERS

223
Number of worker-owned cooperatives in the United States

29K
Total number of US cooperatives, excluding housing

856K
Number of jobs currently produced by cooperatives

$653B
Total revenue generated by cooperatives

—Molly Stier

"The vast majority of people living in the U.S., despite living in a 'democratic society' don't have the experience of participating in face-to-face democracy."

Perez de Alejo, Cooperation Texas

An Internet of Our Own

The real sharing economy is now being built.

In late August, British Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn—the United Kingdom's counterpart to Bernie Sanders, except more victorious—announced that he had a plan for the Internet. His "Digital Democracy Manifesto" included planks like an "open knowledge library" and the protection of "digital liberty rights." One of its more surprising proposals is the call for "platform cooperatives." As Corbyn's document explains: "We will foster the cooperative ownership of digital platforms for distributing labour and selling services"—for example, an Uber owned by its drivers, or a Facebook truly accountable to those who entrust it with their data.

Platform cooperatives weren't something one could even call for until December 2014, when New School professor Trebor Scholz posted an online essay about "platform cooperativism," putting the term on the map. A year later, he and I organized a packed conference on the subject in New York City. We're about to publish *Ours to Hack and to Own*, a collective manifesto with contributions from more than 60 authors that Scholz and I edited. The authors include leading tech critics like Yochai Benkler, Douglas Rushkoff, and Astra Taylor, as well as entrepreneurs, labor organizers, workers, and others. The theory and practice of platform cooperativism are spreading.

Workers and organizers have now recognized that we need not cede the online economy to Silicon Valley investors.

COMMENT

It's been pretty clear for a while now that the corporate Internet behemoths that claim to be involved in "sharing" and "democratizing" are doing little of either—not where it really matters. The venture capital that inflates them, and the IPOs that hand them over to Wall Street, result in an imperative to sell their users' personal data, labor, and relationships to the highest bidder. It's a business model based on surveillance and precarity. Many people on the front lines of the digital economy have realized that the ownership designs of the Internet's dominant companies need to change. A few have started to figure out how.

Platform co-ops began to appear even before we knew what to call them. By her early 20s, for instance, Brianna Wettlaufer was an executive at iStock, a major platform for stock photos and multimedia owned by Getty Images. But at meeting after meeting, Wettlaufer noticed how the company's business imperatives were in conflict with the interests of the independent artists it claimed to represent. The same restless frustration with bad systems that powered Wettlaufer's climb up the corporate ladder finally compelled her to leave iStock and, with others, start her own company. Stocksy United went online in 2013 as a cooperative, owned and governed by its employees and hundreds of photographers. Rather than seeking growth at all costs, Stocksy United has concentrated on fair pay for photographers, doubling its revenue last year to $7.9 million. Now, as CEO, Wettlaufer has little difficulty prioritizing artistic quality and fair treatment for photographers at company meetings: The photographers are her bosses.

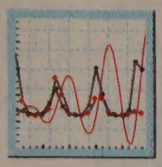
In Denver, meanwhile, a very different company is being formed, but with a similar ownership design. About 800 taxi and app-based drivers in the city—largely African immigrants—have put up a $2,000 investment to become co-owners of Green Taxi Cooperative, which is poised to become the largest taxi company in the state of Colorado. Green Taxi intends to compete not only with other taxi companies but, using an app of its own, with the "ride-sharing" apps now funneling a huge chunk of drivers' and riders' money to Silicon Valley.

With the support of the Communications Workers of America, Green Taxi represents a turn among labor unions back to the cooperative business models that buttressed their collective bargaining a century ago. A group of Bay Area nurses, with the support of SEIU–United Healthcare Workers West, has formed a co-op that reaches clients directly through its app, Nurses Can. These workers and organizers have recognized that we need not cede the emerging online economy—with all its promise and disruption—to Silicon Valley investors. By creating online platforms accountable to the people who rely on them, we can craft disruptions of our own.

New platform co-ops are proliferating throughout the online economy. Fairmondo is an Amazon-like marketplace in Germany, owned by its users and committed to fair trade; a UK franchise is under way. Loconomics, now getting its start in the Bay Area, is a platform for short-term service gigs co-owned by the workers. Resonate is an effort to create a music-streaming platform owned by musicians, labels, and fans alike. MIDATA.coop, in Switzerland, is developing an online cooperative for medical data, granting users more clarity and control over how their data get monetized and who gains access to them. But such projects are not merely clones of existing platforms; through shared ownership, as Wettlaufer discovered, they can work in ways that investor-owned companies can't.

In the mid-1930s, the US government provided affordable loans for the creation of electric-utility co-ops to provide power in regions where privately owned utilities wouldn't invest. Before long, as much as 75 percent of the country's landmass had service through these locally owned and governed co-ops. The Internet today is what electricity was then, and its benefits are far from equally distributed. Platform cooperatives are a promising step forward—but don't expect a more cooperative Internet to emerge naturally from the market forces now careening in the opposite direction. The online economy needs new protagonists to meet that challenge. NATHAN SCHNEIDER

Nathan Schneider is coeditor, with Trebor Scholz, of Ours to Hack and to Own: The Rise of Platform Cooperativism, a New Vision for the Future of Work and a Fairer Internet.



THE SCORE/BRYCE COVERT + MIKE KONCZAL

Art of the Trade Deal

In his increasingly chaotic campaign for president, embattled Republican nominee Donald Trump has one issue going for him: trade. Trump has been running successfully against NAFTA, trade with China, and globalization in general. He promises white working-class voters that his version of economic isolationism can restore security and dignity to their lives. Hillary Clinton has struggled to counter him on these points, with Trump attacking her previous support for a new Trans-Pacific Partnership trade deal and her husband's signing of NAFTA.

Trump is correct that trade has had serious negative consequences for working-class people. But his plan is to wall off the United States, magically conjure "better" (but undefined) trade deals, and bring back a manufacturing economy that no longer exists and never will. Instead of letting these half-baked ideas dominate the conversation, progressives need a broader trade policy that would benefit those Americans who have been left behind.

Trump's trade rhetoric is powerful, but progressives have a better plan than isolationism.

Globalization has had serious impacts on working-class communities—but we need to know which part of globalization we're talking about. Though Trump often focuses on NAFTA, the volume of trade with Mexico produced by the deal ultimately wasn't big enough to disrupt the lives of many American workers. What really made the difference was China's entry into the World Trade Organization. As the economists David Autor, David Dorn, and Gordon Hanson have found, areas that were exposed to the most trade with China faced significant, long-lasting negative consequences for workers. Manufacturing was hit hard, and so were workers outside manufacturing—especially those without a college degree—as these areas lost their economic vitality. Contrary to the optimistic forecasts offered by many economists, workers didn't magically get jobs in new places and new industries; instead, they faced worse employment prospects and lower wages—if they found jobs at all.

So what can be done? First, we need a progressive vision of what trade deals should look like in the future. Here's one: At this point in globalization's spread, these deals are less about direct trading between countries and far more about the regulations that govern multinational corporations as they expand across the globe. We should be sure that trade deals don't interfere with any country's ability to regulate corporate behavior. So-called "investor-state dispute settlements" do just that, by allowing companies to sue countries over their domestic regulations in opaque international tribunals. We also shouldn't use trade deals to allow sectors like the pharmaceutical industry to push regulations friendly to them into developing nations. The labor movement must be strong internationally to avoid a global race to the bottom, so any progressive trade deal should boost workers' power in other countries. And within these deals, we need mechanisms to prevent other countries from manipulating their currency, which China did to its great benefit during the 2000s.

Second, we will likely have a trade deficit no matter what we do, because US debt is valuable to many countries as a means of payment and as a protection against financial collapse. If we were to resist that exchange, as Trump suggests, we would destabilize foreign economies and disrupt our own as well. As the economist J.W. Mason notes, we should be focused on channeling this foreign capital into productive investment at home, including job-creating infrastructure that can boost growth. A Green Keynesianism could use the trade deficit to combat global warming while creating good jobs for workers—a win for everyone across the globe.

For anyone who still doesn't benefit or cannot work, we must make America a less brutal country in which to be unemployed by delinking benefits like affordable health care from employment.

In the mid-20th century, the New Deal turned manufacturing into a source of secure middle-class jobs, capable of providing for workers and their families. Our economy will be dominated by service industries in the coming decades; making those jobs plentiful and well-paid is our essential task. The nostalgia of Trump's trade rhetoric is powerful, but progressives have smarter answers.

MIKE KONCZAL

Trump's Answers on Trade Are Wrong

Effective trade policy prioritizes workers' interests. ***Here's what we need to do.***

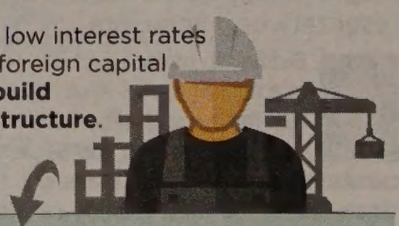
1 Make trade deals that:

- don't interfere with any country's ability to regulate corporations.
- prevent currency manipulation.

Manipulation creates a trade deficit that costs **1–5 million jobs** *annually.*

2 Offset negative trade effects by:

- using low interest rates from foreign capital to **rebuild infrastructure.**



Every **$1 billion** *spent on infrastructure...* *creates* **13,000 middle-class jobs...** *and* **$1.6 billion** *in future economic activity.*

- empowering workers with **full employment** and elevating **service workers** to the middle class.

The Council of Economic Advisers, Peterson Institute for International Economics, author's calculations

*Tracy Loeffelholz Dunn/*The Nation

TRACY LOEFFELHOLZ DUNN

Down-Ballot Hopefuls

They're shaping the 2016 debate and, perhaps, the future.

JOHN NICHOLS

THERE IS MUCH MORE THAN THE PRESIDENCY AT STAKE COME NOVEMBER 8. Whoever controls the Senate and the House will determine what the next president can accomplish. Governors and legislatures decide whether a given state is a "laboratory of democracy" or a political shop of horrors in which unions are attacked, school funding is endangered, and gerrymandering denies people the right to be heard. Along with Russ Feingold's Senate race in Wisconsin and Zephyr Teachout's House race in New York (both already covered by *The Nation*), here's a survey of the progressive campaigns that are shaping the 2016 debate and, perhaps, the future:

Deborah Ross, US Senate, North Carolina

A civil-rights lawyer who served as director of the state ACLU before her election to the state legislature, Ross is often compared to Massachusetts Senator Elizabeth Warren. Could such a candidate really beat a Republican incumbent in a Southern state? Yes. Aided mightily by Emily's List and by North Carolinians who are determined to renew their state's reputation as the region's most progressive, Ross has surged in the polls. If she beats right-winger Richard Burr, Democratic prospects for retaking the Senate will surge too.

Misty K. Snow, US Senate, Utah

Inspired by Bernie Sanders and undaunted by the odds against Democrats in conservative Utah, Snow has mounted a progressive populist campaign that celebrates economic and social justice. As the first transgender person to win a major-party Senate nomination, the 30-year-old Democrat has challenged stereotypes and skeptics. Her grassroots campaign embodies the spirit of the "50-state strategy" that Sanders and others say the Democrats must renew.

Angie Craig, US House of Representatives, Minnesota

Bidding to replace a retiring Republican in a race against a virulently right-wing talk-radio personality, Craig might have been expected to run a cautious and calculating campaign. But that's not her style. "She's one of the most exciting candidates I've seen anywhere in the country," Congressional Progressive Caucus first vice chair Mark Pocan says of Craig, a business executive who is married to her lesbian partner and has used her campaign to argue in rich detail for a serious response to climate change, big infrastructure investments, and ending the Cuban trade embargo to open new markets for Minnesota's farmers. Backed by labor, environmental, and progressive groups, Craig is one of several Democratic women (Teachout is another) who could swing a Republican seat to the Democrats this fall.

Kate Brown, Governor, Oregon

Progressive governors can show executives in other states and in Washington, DC, how to solve problems. Shortly after she assumed the governorship of Oregon in 2015, Brown did just that: She signed a groundbreaking measure to automatically register voters (see Ari Berman, page 14), which she had championed as Oregon's activist secretary of state. She faces voters this fall in what is likely to be precisely the sort of high-turnout election that her model legislation makes possible.

Charlotte Pritt, Governor, West Virginia

West Virginia Democrats have nominated a billionaire for governor, while Republicans have nominated a millionaire. Both are running to the right, especially on energy and environmental issues. Enter former state legislator Charlotte Pritt, a previous Democratic gubernatorial nominee, who is mounting an inspired (if uphill) campaign from the ballot line of the state's progressive Mountain Party. "Citizens want to know that the voices of all West Virginians will be heard, not just the elite few," Pritt says of her challenge to the big-money politics that has allowed "extractive fossil-fuel industries [to turn] our state into a Third World colony."

David Zuckerman, Lieutenant Governor, Vermont

A Vermont Progressive Party stalwart, Zuckerman surprised folks when he won the Democratic nomination for the state's No. 2 job—with a boost from longtime ally Bernie Sanders. Running as a Progressive/Democrat in a state that allows fusion voting, he's an organic farmer and veteran legislator who champions GMO labeling, marijuana legalization, and a bold economic-justice vision.

Josh Shapiro, Attorney General, Pennsylvania

President Obama knows the power of attorneys general—not merely in the states, but as advocates on federal issues. So he's put a lot of energy into backing Shapiro, whom the president hails as "a true progressive [who will] fight to reform the criminal-justice system to make it fairer for all." A Democrat in a tight race, Shapiro pulls no punches, promising to address gun violence, defend workers and consumers from corporate abuse, and "Hold the Frackers Accountable!"

Jane Kim, State Senate, California

A member of the San Francisco Board of Supervisors, Kim authored the ballot measure to increase the city's minimum wage to $15 an hour and is now running a fiercely populist campaign for the State Senate. Attacked by dark-money groups and real-estate interests who disapprove of her affordable-housing advocacy, Kim fights back with TV ads that display her tae kwon do skills and declare, "Jane Kim: Kicking Ass So We Don't Get Kicked Out." Kim's got a big vision for what state legislators can do, arguing, "Whether it's on health care, higher education, K–12, prison and criminal-justice reform, and previously gay marriage, all of these issues were actually being fought in the state capitols."

Ilhan Omar, State House of Representatives, Minnesota

"It matters that I am a woman. It matters that I am a Somali-American woman. It matters that I am a Muslim and immigrant woman. It matters that our campaign won the primary by creating a multicultural coalition," says Ilhan Omar, who beat a veteran legislator in the Minneapolis primary and is now poised to become the country's first Somali-American legislator. A progressive organizer in the Paul Wellstone tradition, Omar is campaigning for herself and for a November 8 referendum to set a $15-an-hour minimum wage in Minneapolis.

Drug-Price Standards Initiative, California

The scandal over EpiPen price hikes highlighted the fury with Big Pharma companies that put profiteering ahead of public health. California's Proposition 61, a ballot initiative that would regulate prescription-drug prices by requiring state agencies to pay the same rates as the US Department of Veterans Affairs, offers an avenue to express that outrage. California is a huge state with buying power that can influence national priorities. That prospect has so shaken drug companies that they've poured millions into opposing the initiative. But Bernie Sanders and the California Nurses Association have gone all-in on Proposition 61—and activists are already preparing a similar measure to put on the Ohio ballot in November 2017.

Who is HILLARY CLINTON?

Two Decades of Answers From the Left

INTRODUCTION BY KATHA POLLITT
EDITED BY RICHARD KREITNER

A MUST-READ FOR THE 2016 ELECTION SEASON

The Nation. 150

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GLOBAL WARNING

The Arctic Vanishes

Native populations are bearing the brunt of the displacement caused by climate change. Small towns, villages, and islands along the Alaskan coast are at severe risk of becoming uninhabitable in the next 10 to 20 years, with many submerged already. Ice-sheet erosion, thawing permafrost, and steadily rising seas have forced dozens of communities to either relocate at their own expense or seek out federal funds to begin the enormously costly process of moving further inland.

75 Billion
Tons of ice that melted off Alaskan glaciers *per year* from 1994 to 2013

86%
Percentage of native coastal communities in Alaska currently affected by climate change

31
Alaskan villages in imminent danger of becoming uninhabitable

$200 Million
Maximum cost of relocating a single Alaskan village

$2 Million
Amount pledged by President Obama in 2015 to fund "voluntary climate-induced relocation" in Alaska (roughly 2 percent of the funds actually needed)

2050
The year when, according to conservative estimates, the global population of climate refugees will reach at least 250 million

—Emilio Leanza

Eric Alterman

Hot Air

Taking a page from the GOP, media outlets are ignoring the climate crisis.

August 2016 was the hottest month in recorded history. Nothing new there. As a recent report from the Institute for Policy Studies, "Combat vs. Climate," explains, 15 of the 16 hottest years ever recorded have been in the 21st century. Official Pentagon planning documents recognize climate change as "an urgent and growing threat to our national security, contributing to increased natural disasters, refugee flows, and conflicts over basic resources such as food and water." And yet the 2016 Republican Party platform simply dismisses it. None of the moderators at the presidential or vice-presidential debates in 2012 deemed the topic worthy of even a single question, and none have done so this year either.

When Donald Trump isn't musing on grabbing lady parts or bragging about what a bodacious babe his young daughter was, he sometimes spouts his belief that "the concept of global warming was created by and for the Chinese in order to make U.S. manufacturing non-competitive." You may have heard about that because, unbidden by the moderators, Hillary Clinton brought up Trump's crazy tweet in the first presidential debate. True to form, he denied it, though it was seen by millions of people before and after the debate. Trump campaign manager Kellyanne Conway got all postmodern regarding his loony notion while spinning on CNN: She explained that Trump simply meant he believes that "global warming is naturally occurring"—that is, independent of human activity.

While this position may appear marginally less lunatic than Trump's true beliefs—if such things can be said to exist—scientific support for it remains no less rare. Disbelief in the human role in global warming among qualified climatologists has fallen into "margin of error" territory—that is, between 1 and 3 percent. And yet, according to a recent Pew poll, roughly three-quarters of Republicans still think the whole idea is really some sort of conspiracy. Just 15 percent are willing to accept that there's a scientific consensus on the issue. All told, according to Pew, barely a third of Americans say they "care a great deal" about climate change.

As the IPS report points out, the United States spends 28 times as much on traditional military security as on climate security. And so, as we spend tens of billions of dollars for weapons that won't work for wars we will never fight, we have all but disarmed ourselves in the face of a future that will likely see a devastating loss of arable land, taking our food supply with it. We can look forward to increasingly frequent hurricanes and a rise in sea levels that will threaten all the world's coastal cities. The Pentagon's planning reports have been warning since 2008 that a warming world will provoke a massive increase in the flow of refugees, violent conflicts over depleted natural resources (especially water), and a sharp spike in energy prices.

The news media don't deserve all the blame for Americans' ignorance and corresponding lack of alarm. Almost all political systems display a natural inertia when confronting a not-yet-visible catastrophe, and every modern president, for better or worse, has had to grapple with Americans' distaste for any form of sacrifice or even collective action for anything short of military attack.

In this case, we must recognize the enemy within. Barack Obama has been admirably alarmist about the problem. Hillary Clinton has been less so, but she's still on the right side of the issue. Alas, the Republican Party's remarkable combination of purposeful ignorance and obstinacy has stymied congressional action for over a generation. Twice, the Republican House majority attached an amendment to the National Defense Authorization Act that explicitly denied the Pentagon the right to address climate threats. Last year, the House Budget Committee actually tried to pass a measure that would have prevented the Pentagon and the CIA from even studying climate science. Trump may position himself as an outsider candidate whose wealth insulates him from corrupt interest groups, but the fossil-fuel lobbyists he's picked to shape his energy policy would guarantee more of the same.

The 2016 GOP platform dismisses the threat of global warming, and debate moderators haven't raised the issue either.

Perhaps it's just a coincidence that the GOP's

ILLUSTRATION: ANDY FRIEDMAN

A Call for an Economic Boycott and Political Nonrecognition of the Israeli Settlements in the Occupied Territories

We, the undersigned, oppose an economic, political, or cultural boycott of Israel itself as defined by its June 4, 1967 borders. We believe that this Green Line should be the starting point for negotiations between the Israeli and Palestinian parties on future boundaries between two states. To promote such negotiations, we call for a targeted boycott of all goods and services from all Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories and any investments that promote the occupation, until such time as a peace settlement is negotiated between the Israeli government and the Palestinian Authority. We further call upon the US government to exclude settlements from trade benefits accorded to Israeli enterprises and to strip all such Israeli entities in the West Bank from the tax exemptions which the Internal Revenue Service currently grants to American nonprofit tax-exempt organizations. The objects of our call are all commercial and residential Israeli-sponsored entities located outside the 1967 Green Line. It is our hope that targeted boycotts and changes in American policy, limited to the Israeli settlements in the Occupied Territories, will encourage all parties to negotiate a two-state solution to this long-standing conflict.

David Abraham, University of Miami | **Kai Bird**, author | **Todd Gitlin**, Columbia University

We hope you will be willing to **sign on as well**. If you agree, please join over **180 other signatories** by completing the brief form sponsored by **Partners for a Progressive Israel** at **bit.ly/2cSddKz**.

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News outlets enjoyed record profits as they amplified the lies and invective upon which Trump based his campaign.

billionaire backers—Charles and David Koch most prominently—have dedicated themselves to building an iron wall against any form of regulatory action that could eat into their profits. In the past, the Kochs have used middlemen and secretive organizations to impose their political and intellectual blackmail on Republicans (and therefore on the rest of us). Recognizing that Trump is unelectable, they're now using their network to endorse and fund House and Senate candidates as a way to ensure that President Clinton will have no better luck defending America in this area than Obama did.

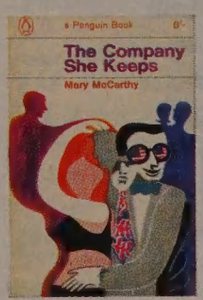
Sadly, many in the media have simply played along by ignoring the issue as well. To be fair, this is true of almost all genuine issues. Using a particularly generous yardstick, Harvard's Shorenstein Center found that during the first five months of this year, 56 percent of election coverage was devoted exclusively to the horse race. A mere 11 percent focused on "substantive concerns," with immigration, terrorism, and other fear-driven issues dominating the coverage. News organizations, particularly the cable stations, enjoyed record profits during this period as they repeated and amplified the lies, exaggerations, and invective upon which Republicans, led by Trump, based their campaigns. Now they're being held responsible for failing to notice that the GOP presidential nominee is a sexist pig who thinks it's OK to grab women's private parts and agrees that his own daughter is a "piece of ass." Critics point out that the evidence of Trump's psychopathology was there for all to see; it merely took a salacious tape and a white American victim to get people to notice.

Disgusting as Trump's views about women may be, they will pale in the eyes of future historians struggling to understand America's failure to stop the slow-motion destruction of our planet. ■

FIVE BOOKS/MICHELLE DEAN

The Anti-Brat Pack

"Long before the Brat Pack came on the scene," notes Michelle Dean, "women were writing these state-of-the-zeitgeist books" that captured the painful or sordid dramas of high-minded people. In this issue, Dean reviews how the Brat Packers are faring these days and recommends some ageless antidotes below. Dean's forthcoming book is *Sharp: The Women Who Made an Art of Having an Opinion*.



The Company She Keeps
by Mary McCarthy

Originally published by Simon and Schuster, 1942. Reprinted by Penguin Books, 1965.

It bothers me every day that this book is not a classic must-read for smart young women, à la Sylvia Plath's *The Bell Jar*. Meg Sargent, the novel's protagonist, is "making her way" in New York, meeting unsuitable men on trains, and working at a gallery with an eccentric and incompetent owner. Read it to study the self-confident, self-critical way in which Meg handles it all.

The Mountain Lion
by Jean Stafford

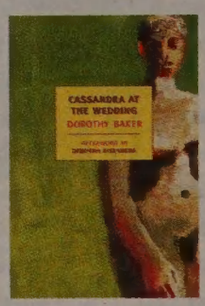
Originally published by Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947. Reprinted by NYRB Classics, 2010.

Stafford is best known as a short-story writer, but her novel *The Mountain Lion* is regarded as her masterpiece. Molly, 8, and Ralph, 10, live a somewhat nomadic life split between two homes. They form a deep bond against a world they don't really understand. As they grow up, Molly becomes increasingly misanthropic and strange, and Ralph less and less able to understand her, until the tragedy that ends the book.

The Golden Spur
by Dawn Powell

Originally published by Viking Books, 1962. Reprinted by Zoland Books, 1998.

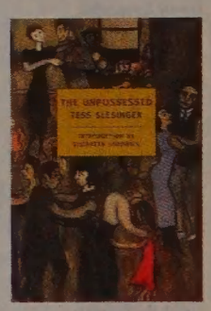
"Powell was that unthinkable monster, a witty woman who felt no obligation to make a single, much less final, down payment on Love or The Family," Gore Vidal once wrote admiringly of the author. Powell *was* a genius, underrecognized in her own time and in ours. *The Golden Spur* follows a young man who has come to New York to find the father whose identity he knows only from the pages of his mother's cryptic journals.



Cassandra at the Wedding
by Dorothy Baker

Originally published by Houghton Mifflin, 1962. Reprinted by NYRB Classics, 2012.

There's something Didion-esque about the setup of Baker's unsettling novel: a young woman driving away from Berkeley to attend her twin sister's wedding in central California. Like many of Didion's characters, Baker's Cassandra is a neurotic. But as the novel progresses, her neurosis turns menacing rather than paralyzing, directing her toward mischief and sabotage.



The Unpossessed
by Tess Slesinger

Originally published by Simon and Schuster, 1934. Reprinted by NYRB Classics, 2002.

Slesinger wrote this novel after she divorced a minor member of the New York intellectual set, a man named Herbert Solow. That small bit of biography should give you an inkling as to how she views the intra-leftist fighting of the 1930s: the wars between the Stalinists and the Leninists, the petty interpersonal squabbles. *The Unpossessed* makes fun of them all.

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A TRUMP TOO FAR?

Gropegate Hits Home

An increasing number of Republicans have decided that Donald Trump's comments about sexually assaulting women constitute the long-awaited last straw. As Laila Lalami notes at right, The Donald's thoughts about forcing himself on women just like their wives and daughters have crossed a line for these lawmakers that Trump's other insults, for some reason, didn't. Before this final indiscretion, it all seemed like such good fun! For example:

On Trump's insulting a judge of Mexican ancestry:

Senator Lindsey Graham: "When you're talking about a politician, you got to be able to take a joke.... If this bothers you, you need to get out of politics."

On Trump's suggestion that the "Second Amendment folks" might take care of Hillary Clinton by assassinating her:

House Speaker Paul Ryan: "It sounds like just a joke gone bad."

On the other hand, some Republicans, even now, just can't quit their grotesque standard-bearer. Trump's old nemesis Ben Carson took to the airwaves to explain his thinking to CNN anchor Brianna Keilar:

Carson: "As I was growing up, people were always trying to talk about their sexual conquests and trying to make themselves appear like Casanova. I'm surprised you haven't heard that. I really am."

Keilar: "I haven't heard it, and I know a lot of people who have not heard it."

Carson: "Maybe that's the problem. People have not heard this. Maybe that's the problem."

Could be, Ben Carson, could be.

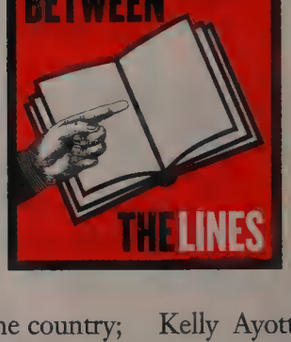
—Phuc Pham

Laila Lalami

The GOP Empathy Gap

It took Republican leaders 16 months to denounce Trump's hateful remarks.

"They're rapists," Donald Trump said last year when he announced his presidential candidacy. Back then, he was speaking about Mexican immigrants who had crossed the border into the United States illegally. The claim was not backed by any evidence, nor did it need to be, because its purpose was not to appeal to logic, but to emotion. It's one of the oldest tricks in the racist's handbook: to warn that white women are in danger from unknown numbers of dark others and that only a strong male can offer protection. "It's coming from more than Mexico," Trump continued, warming to his theme. "It's coming from South and Latin America, and it's coming probably—probably—from the Middle East."



In the 16 months since his announcement, Trump has made dozens of hateful remarks, each more outrageous than the last, without losing the support of the Republican Party's leaders. He has promised to build a wall to keep out immigrants; proposed a ban on Muslims entering the country; suggested that the US military engage in war crimes; claimed not to know who David Duke was, despite having written an op-ed about the former Ku Klux Klan leader; retweeted anti-Semitic images; dismissed a federal judge's ability to do his job because of his ethnic heritage; attacked the Gold Star family of a Muslim US Army captain; insisted that the Central Park Five—black and Latino men who were exonerated of rape charges years ago—were guilty; and, until the eve of the first debate, insinuated that the country's first black president was not really American.

But it was only when Trump—that outspoken defender of women from Mexican rapists—bragged about sexual assault that some of his party's leaders finally seemed to find the courage to break with him. In a tape obtained by *The Washington Post*, Trump can be heard telling *Access Hollywood*'s Billy Bush that he moved on a married woman "like a bitch." The conversation was recorded in 2005, when the two were on a bus heading to the *Days of Our Lives* set. Upon seeing the actress who was to host him for the day, Trump said that he needed "to use some Tic Tacs" because he might start kissing her. "I'm automatically attracted to beautiful—I just start kissing them. It's like a magnet. Just kiss. I don't even wait. And when you're a star, they let you do it. You can do anything. Grab them by the pussy. You can do anything."

It's fair to say that Trump's record on women has been consistently horrific. In the past, he's called Rosie O'Donnell "a slob," Arianna Huffington "a dog," Megyn Kelly a "bimbo," and Alicia Machado, a former Miss Universe, "Miss Piggy." He has been no less vulgar with his political opponents. "Look at that face," he said of Carly Fiorina. "Would anyone vote for that?" And he has blamed Hillary Clinton for her husband's infidelity, incited Russian hackers to find and release her e-mails, and suggested that the "Second Amendment people" could act against her.

This latest incident seems to have struck a nerve, however. After the tapes became public, House Speaker Paul Ryan announced that he would no longer defend Trump or campaign for him; Condoleezza Rice and Carly Fiorina called on him to drop out of the race; and Senators John McCain, Kelly Ayotte, and Dan Sullivan withdrew their endorsements, as did Governor Tim Pawlenty. Many others have since joined the chorus. But this is not a stance born out of moral necessity. The decay that's been growing inside the "party of family values" has been plain for quite some time, and all these Republican leaders have been willing to accommodate it.

Even before the tapes, we knew Trump had called various women a "slob," a "dog," a "bimbo," and "Miss Piggy."

No, this is nothing more than a statistical calculation. There is hardly a woman in this country who has not experienced some sort of assault at some point in her life. Hearing Trump speak so casually about the violations he inflicts on women is likely to damage his candidacy in the eyes of a huge portion of the electorate. (Back in March, Nate Silver showed that if every woman in America refused to vote for Trump, he wouldn't get a single vote in the Electoral College.)

Furthermore, Trump's poll numbers have been

ILLUSTRATION: ANDY FRIEDMAN

falling since his performance in the first debate, where, among other things, he claimed that not paying taxes made him smart and answered a question about cybersecurity by talking about his 10-year-old son's love of computers. His performance in the second debate wasn't much better: He characterized his taped comments as mere "locker-room talk" before raising the threat of ISIS in a complete non sequitur. He later threatened Hillary Clinton with jail if he were elected. It was, to borrow one of Trump's favorite words, a disaster. So it is only the prospect of a resounding electoral defeat that has Republicans suddenly swaddling themselves in virtue and denouncing the despicable behavior of their nominee.

And the way in which they've denounced Trump is particularly telling. Here is his running mate, Mike Pence: "As a husband and father, I was offended by the words and actions described by Donald Trump." Here is Mitch McConnell: "As the father of three daughters, I strongly believe that Trump needs to apologize directly to women and girls everywhere." Here is Jeb Bush: "As the grandfather to two precious girls, I find that no apology can excuse away Donald Trump's reprehensible comments."

Two points are worth making here. The first is that women are not vessels of male honor. Sexual assault ought to be condemned on its own terms, not for its connection to a man's mother or wife or sister or daughter. The second is that the empathy for women that these Republicans are suddenly finding in their hearts was sorely missing when other groups were being attacked or demeaned or harassed. Immigrants, Mexicans, Muslims: All of these people were thought to be expendable, but now that Trump has risked the votes of the largest section of the electorate, he has become condemnable.

At long last. ■

TWEET THAT!

I'm a Muslim, and I would like to report a crazy man threatening a woman on a stage in Missouri. #debate

@Bayoumi Moustafa

Moustafa Bayoumi, professor and *Nation* writer, whose tweet was retweeted 90,000 times by equally frustrated debate viewers

SNAPSHOT/STEVE HELBER

Shining Star

A worker polishes the set before the vice-presidential debate between Tim Kaine and Mike Pence. Nielsen ratings for the event were the lowest since Dick Cheney and Joe Lieberman met in 2000. This year's debate was also streamed on Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, platforms that traditional rating systems have yet to embrace.

STEVE HELBER / AP

HOT-MIC TAPE BRINGS LATE-INNING DEFECTIONS

Calvin Trillin
Deadline Poet

The tape set some Republican
Endorsers to revising
Their stand on Trump, as if it showed
Them anything surprising.

When boy to boy, The Donald brags
Of women he'd "seduced,"
Surprise! Before that tape, they thought
He shared his views of Proust.

BACK ISSUES/1975

Nat Turner, Shibboleth

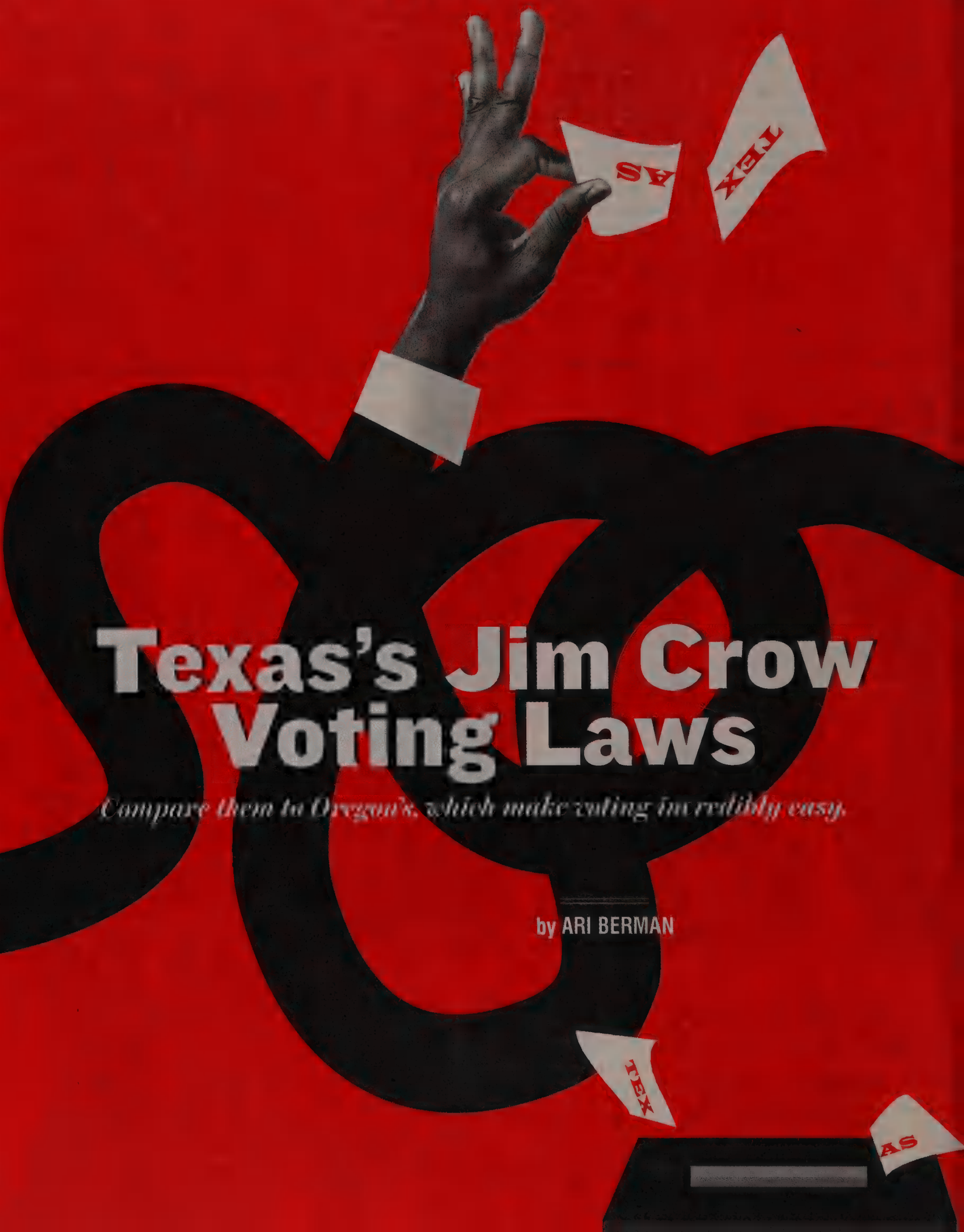
Once again, a film called *The Birth of a Nation* has sparked a roiling debate. At TheNation.com, historian Leslie M. Alexander called director Nate Parker's recent take on Nat Turner's 1831 slave rebellion "a deeply flawed, historically inaccurate movie that exploits and distorts...the history of slavery in America."

In 1975, Stephen B. Oates wrote in these pages about William Styron's controversial 1967 novel *The Confessions of Nat Turner*:

"Nat Turner was a complex and paradoxical man, a victim of a violent system who in the end struck back with retributive violence. At the age of 31, he died on the gallows in Virginia, one of the final casualties in an insurrection and an ensuing white reign of terror that demonstrated with blazing clarity what Frederick Douglass said of slavery—that it brutalized everybody, black and white alike. The historical Turner, with all his strength and human frailty, his loves and hatreds, his family cares and Messianic posturings, his liberating visions and bloody doom, lived a life that affords profound insight into the tragic consequences of man's inhumanity to his fellow man. But we will never know this if Nat is removed from the reality of his own time and made a slogan and a shibboleth for modern activists—or if he is used as a mouthpiece for the fantasies and unfounded suspicions of a modern novelist."

—Richard Kreitner

The Nation.



Texas's Jim Crow Voting Laws

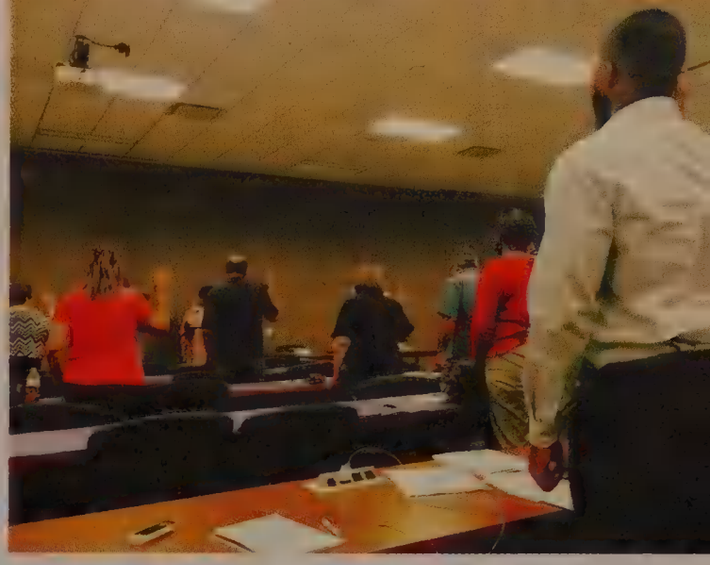
Compare them to Oregon's, which make voting incredibly easy.

by ARI BERMAN

AT 10 AM ON A TUESDAY MORNING IN SEPTEMBER, BABATUNDE Adeleye, a 33-year-old naturalized US citizen from Nigeria, arrived at the Bexar County Elections Department in San Antonio. It's a brand-new building in an otherwise unappealing industrial park along the interstate, 10 minutes south of downtown. There were inspirational posters on the wall featuring American flags and sunsets, highlighting words like "success" and "momentum."

Tunde, as everyone calls him, stood up, raised his right hand, and took an oath to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution and laws of the United States and of this State." He was being deputized not as a cop, but instead to register voters. The parallels, however, were impossible to ignore: Texas treats voter registration like a criminal offense and makes it as difficult as possible to do.

Tunde grew up in Lagos and studied petroleum engineering at the University of Louisiana at Lafayette. He got a job in the oil fields of Oklahoma but was laid off when the industry went bust. He became a citizen last year, so 2016 marks the first presidential election he can vote in. After moving to San Antonio three months ago, he began working with MOVE San Antonio, a progressive nonprofit that registers young voters. "I come from a background where poverty was the order of the day," Tunde says. "The first step to empowering people to have a say in their community is to register them to vote. If you don't vote, you don't have a say."



Babatunde Adeleye, getting deputized to register voters in San Antonio.

In 2014, Texas ranked 45th in voter registration and dead last in voter turnout.

BEFORE HE COULD REGISTER ANYONE, HOWEVER, Tunde had to navigate Texas's draconian voter-registration laws, beginning with this course. The state has no online registration, and anyone who registers voters must be deputized by the county at a training session that typically occurs once a month, sometimes less. The volunteer deputy registrars (VDRs), as they're known, must be deputized on a county-by-county basis, which makes statewide drives practically impossible in a massive state like Texas, with its 254 counties.

If Tunde led a registration drive outside a San Antonio Spurs basketball game, for example, he could collect forms only from people who live in Bexar County, where he's deputized, and wouldn't be able to register anyone attending the game from Austin, Dallas, or Houston. This is a huge problem in Texas, where many cities sprawl over multiple counties. A voter-registration drive in the state's 13th Congressional District, which encompasses most of the Panhandle, would require deputizing workers in 41 counties.

"It's a big barrier," Tunde says. "We already have low turnout. By having all these new restrictions in place, it further draws down the number of people who vote." In 2014, Texas ranked 45th in voter registration and dead last in voter turnout. Tunde was the 908th person deputized in Bexar County as of mid-September, which means there are roughly 1,000 people who can register voters in America's seventh-biggest city during a critical presidential election.

The restrictions don't end there. Only US citizens with Texas residency can become VDRs, which prohibits out-of-state workers, legal permanent residents, or undocumented immigrants from helping. All VDRs must deliver voter-registration forms to the county election office in person within five days of receiving them. They can't photocopy the documents to keep track of new registrants and must personally input all of the data. Failure to comply with any of these provisions can lead to criminal prosecution.

VDRs can be terminated at any time by the county registrar, and their appointments expire at the end of even-numbered years, which means that Tunde will have to do this training all over again if he wants to register voters in 2017 or 2018. "You have to have a PhD in voter-obstacle-ology to navigate the system," says Lydia Bean, executive director of Faith in Texas, which registers voters in the Dallas–Fort Worth area.

VDRs were established in 1985, but the restrictions on voter registration were significantly toughened by the Texas legislature in 2011 to require county trainings, ban non-Texans, and prohibit VDRs from being compensated based on the number of people they register. As a result, "Texas is the most restrictive state in the union when it comes to voter registration," according to the Texas Civil Rights Project.

The 2011 law's sponsor, GOP State Representative Jim Murphy of Houston, sees this as a good thing. "It takes away the defense of 'I didn't know I couldn't do that,'" Murphy said, speaking to the *Austin American-Statesman*. "Clearly, I would agree it's additional work, but so is having insurance for your house if it burns down."

Nationally, a quarter of eligible Americans—62 million people—are not registered to vote. Three million of them live in Texas, including 2.2 million unregistered Latinos and 750,000 unregistered African Americans. Texas has more unregistered voters than the total population of 20 states. While its strict voter-ID law has attracted national scrutiny for discriminating against people of color and has been repeatedly struck down by the courts, the state's restrictions on voter-registration drives have received little attention, even though they prevent millions of black and Latino citizens from participating in the political process.

"If you're not deputized and you register your mother, you can get a felony," says Jeremy Bird, the national field director for Barack Obama's 2012 campaign. "The barriers are so great, and the penalties are so high, nobody wants to invest resources in registering voters."

After the 2012 election, Bird founded Battleground Texas to help long-suffering Democratic candidates in this deep-red state. The group deputized 9,000 people and registered nearly 100,000 voters during the 2014 cycle. But it was threatened with prosecution by the state after right-wing activist James O'Keefe filmed an undercover video showing an organizer copying phone numbers from voter-registration forms so that the group

ILLUSTRATION: RACHEL ARIO

could follow up with the voters, which opponents claimed violated the Texas election code. A judge ultimately dismissed the charges, but the threat of criminal prosecution had a chilling effect on registration efforts. In 2016, Battleground Texas has a fraction of its staff from 2014 and plans to register just a fourth of the voters it did two years ago.

"Anytime someone has success registering minority or Democratic voters, there's an investigation opened to scare people away from doing it," says Chad Dunn, a voting-rights lawyer in Houston. After a progressive group called Houston Votes submitted 25,000 voter-registration applications in 2010, mostly from low-income people of color, Tea Party activists accused it of voter fraud. Then–State Attorney General Greg Abbott, now Texas governor, sent agents in bulletproof vests to raid the group's office and destroy its computers and records. Charges were never filed, but Houston Votes was forced to shut down.

National groups that specialize in voter registration have been forced to abandon Texas. "We decided that there was no way that we could do voter-registration work here without the risk of prosecution," says Michael Slater, president of Project Vote, which has registered 5.6 million voters nationwide since 1994, including 35,000 in Texas in 2008. Project Vote challenged the registration restrictions in 2012 and won a preliminary injunction from a Federal District Court, but it was overturned by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, the most conservative appellate court in the country.

Texas has a long and ugly history of blocking blacks and Latinos from voting through poll taxes, all-white primaries, and English-only ballots. The civil-rights movement used large-scale registration drives to challenge voter-suppression tactics in the Jim Crow South. In 1964, hundreds of college students from the North went to Mississippi for Freedom Summer, which helped lead to the passage of the Voting Rights Act. A similar effort would be impossible in Texas today: The state's voter-registration laws "would have rendered Freedom Summer illegal," Federal District Court Judge Gregg Costa wrote in August 2012.

National groups that specialize in voter registration have been forced to abandon Texas.

THE SAME DAY I ATTENDED THE VDR TRAINING session with Tunde, I received an announcement that Oregon had registered 300,000 new voters in the past year, a 14 percent increase from 2015. If Texas is the toughest state in the country to register voters, Oregon is the easiest. In January, it became the first state to automatically register any citizen who obtains a driver's license or a state ID at the Department of Motor Vehicles. There are no deputies to train, no forms to return within five days, no threats of criminal prosecution.

Henry Kraemer, of the civic group the Bus Federation.

It's a favorite parlor game in Washington to predict when Texas will go blue, but most people are severely underestimating the difficulty of translating the state's changing demographics into a shift in political power. In 2012, only a quarter of Texas Latinos were contacted by political parties or organizations before the election, making them "the most undermobilized [group] in the country," according to the organization Latino Decisions.

Jeremy Bird estimates that hundreds of thousands of new Democratic-leaning voters must be registered in Texas over the next four years to make the state competitive. The opportunity is there—905,000 new Latinos will become eligible to vote in Texas in 2016—but few organizations have the capacity to register them en masse or to comply with the demands of Texas law.

"There's no resources to register Latinos in Texas," says Selene Gomez, a San Antonio–based organizer for Mi Familia Vota. "People look at it as a red state and move on. Campaigns keep going to the same people. That's why a lot of Latinos don't come out: because a lot of us are never talked to. No one thinks about us." There are half a million unregistered voters in the Rio Grande Valley, which comprises four counties in South Texas along the Mexican border, but only one group—the Advocacy Alliance Center of Texas, which has just two staffers—is working full-time to register them.

Despite the obstacles, people are registering, especially in urban areas with targeted registration drives. According to US census data, 2.1 million new voters have been added to the rolls since 2012, and the Hispanic share has increased by 6 percent in that time. But the overall percentage of registered voters has remained flat, at 74 percent. This means registration efforts are barely keeping up with the state's rapidly changing demographics.

It's only a thought experiment at this point, but automatic registration would make a bigger difference in Texas than in virtually any other state. "If you got millions of unregistered Latinos, African Americans, and Asian Americans registered, that alone makes it a competitive state," Bird points out. "There would be a fundamental shift immediately."

MOVE SAN ANTONIO, WHERE TUNDE WORKS, IS part of a collection of state-based civic groups called the Bus Federation. The founding affiliate in Oregon, the Bus Project, began in 2001 by crisscrossing the state in a bus to register voters. The Bus Federation's "secretary of states" is Henry Kraemer, 29, with a scruffy beard and a tattoo of the last 10 words of the Gettysburg Address on his back. Kraemer admits that he's "infected with the quirk of Oregon pretty intensely." He was wearing red Vans and a tie with American flags and a bald eagle on it when I met him.

During the 2008 election, the Bus Project registered 23,000 new voters. But Kraemer couldn't stop thinking about all the people it didn't reach. After the election, the group's organizers sat down and thought about how to end voter registration in its current form. Since 1951, North Dakota has held elections without a voter-registration list.

PHOTOGRAPHS: ARI BERMAN

Historically, registration laws have been used in the United States to *prevent* people from voting, including African Americans in the Jim Crow South and immigrants in states like New York and California in the early 1900s.

Kraemer learned that a number of industrialized countries—including Canada, France, and Sweden—automatically register their citizens to vote based on information the government already has. Iraq, of all places, used an automatic-registration system for its elections after the US invasion. "It seems like we do a lot of things better than the rest of the world," Kraemer says, "so why don't we do voter registration at least as well as the rest of the world?"

In 2009, he pitched the idea of automatic registration to Kate Brown, Oregon's newly elected secretary of state. Brown had won her first race by just seven votes and shared a passion for expanding voting rights. She wanted to build on Oregon's history of political innovation (in 1998, it became the first state to conduct its elections entirely by mail, sending a ballot to every registered voter).

"Oregon was really great in terms of voter turnout, because we put ballots in people's hands," Brown says. "But we were only slightly above average in terms of voter registration, and we wanted to make it as convenient and accessible as possible."

She wrote a bill to that end, which failed by one vote in 2013. But Democrats expanded their legislative majorities in the next election, and in 2015 Oregon became the first state to pass an automatic-registration law. Brown, who had been sworn in as governor just a month earlier, had the good fortune of signing her own bill.

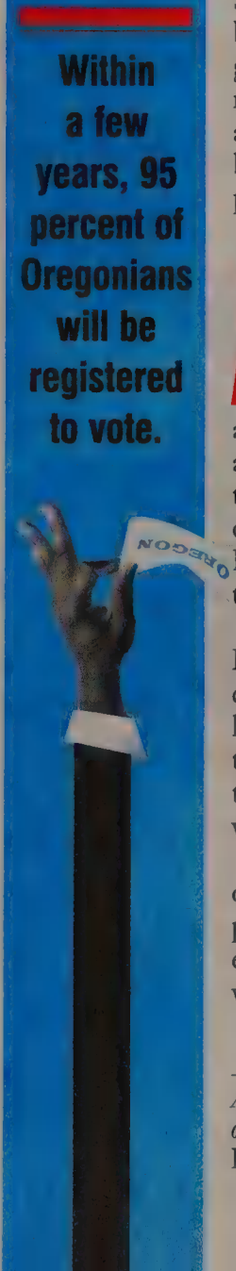
The system works like this: Any eligible citizen who requests or renews a driver's license or a state ID card through the DMV is registered to vote. They receive a letter from the state to this effect and have 21 days to opt out if they choose not to register. They can choose a party affiliation by returning the letter, but if they do nothing, they're still added to the voter rolls.

The results have been impressive. Since January, more than 230,000 Oregonians have been registered to vote this way, nearly four times as many per month compared with 2012. Oregon is registering 735 new voters *a day*, roughly half of whom are under 35. Within a few years, 95 percent of Oregonians will be registered to vote, Kraemer predicts, giving Oregon the highest registration rate in the nation. "It is meeting and probably exceeding my expectations," Brown says.

Republicans unanimously opposed the bill in the legislature, but the people who run the state's elections love the new system. Steve Druckenmiller has been the clerk of Linn County for 30 years. It's firmly Republican territory in the heart of the Willamette Valley, dominated by the agriculture, mining, and timber industries. Druckenmiller describes himself as a conservative. In his office, there's a smiling portrait of Ronald Reagan on the wall and political pins like the one that says "OREAGAN Country."

Druckenmiller sees automatic registration as a way to remove unnecessary red tape from the process. "We have a fundamental right to vote," he says. "Assembly, speech, voting—those are fundamental rights. And government should not insert itself between a citizen and that right unless there's a compelling reason for them to do that."

Steve Druckenmiller, clerk of Linn County, Oregon, in his office.



Druckenmiller argues that Republicans worried about voter fraud should support the new system, because only people who provide proof of citizenship at the DMV—such as a birth certificate or a passport—are automatically registered. "And I never understood why people who were so concerned about alleged fraud would not support a system that makes it that much more secure," he says.

Oregon's law is quickly being replicated nationwide. Similar automatic-registration laws are in the process of being implemented in California, Vermont, West Virginia, and Connecticut. In California alone, 2.4 million new voters could be registered next year. "We're seeing a sea change, in terms of automatic voter registration becoming how people see that voter registration is supposed to work," Kraemer says.

AT A TIME WHEN STATES LIKE TEXAS CONTINUE TO make it harder to vote, Oregon is not just registering a lot of new voters but also reframing the national debate over voting rights—treating the franchise as a fundamental right rather than a privilege. "I believe that Americans should be able to access the right to vote simply by virtue of their qualifications: that they're old enough, that they're citizens of this country, and that they're residents of a particular state," Brown says. "And we shouldn't require any type of barrier to people accessing that very fundamental right."

While in Portland, I went to the DMV with Natalie Hawwa, a 34-year-old communications consultant who recently moved from Washington, DC. She needed a new license and had been up all night studying for her driving test. After she passed it and got her license, I told Natalie that she'd also be registered to vote. But she wasn't convinced, since she hadn't filled out any additional paperwork.

Two weeks later, a letter from the secretary of state's office arrived. "It looks like I'm good to go," Natalie reported. "Registered to vote; everything is in on time. I essentially did nothing but go and get my driver's license, which I needed anyway, so it's been pretty awesome."

If only it were that easy in Texas. ■

Ari Berman, a Nation *senior contributing writer, is the author of* Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America.

AL EDMONDSON IS WORRIED ABOUT THE ELECTION. HIS "EARN My Vote" Facebook page and YouTube channel feature interviews with local politicians filmed at A Cut Above the Rest, the five-chair barbershop he owns in Columbus, Ohio, its walls decorated with scenes from African-American history. "I take out my tablet and ask them, 'What are you going to do to help our neighborhoods?'" Edmondson says. "We hold them accountable."

A veteran of the first Gulf War who still wears the high-and-tight fade, Edmondson's whole being rebels at the idea of remaining on the sidelines. "I just held a big back-to-school rally about health care. We offered blood-pressure screenings for families. Taught young people to do hands-on CPR."

TROUBLE IN OHIO

Hillary Clinton is failing to connect with this swing state's Democratic voters.

by D.D. GUTTENPLAN

Hillary Clinton arrives at the airport in Swanton, Ohio, on October 3, her first visit to the state in over a month.

In August, "we had a basketball game between rival high schools. To get a ticket, you had to be registered to vote."

In 2008, Edmondson was part of the massive get-out-the-vote effort that gave Barack Obama a 100,000-vote lead in Columbus—a margin that increased by 17,700 votes four years later, when Obama won Ohio by just 103,000 votes. But this year Edmondson doesn't see the same excitement—or organization. While he's as active as ever, his customers are another story. "They're not gonna say it, but a lot of them… they're gonna sit at home."

I hear the same worry on the other side of town. "If you asked me two weeks ago, I was so confident," says Anne Jewel. "But I live in an upper-middle-class part of Columbus, and there's one Hillary sign on my block. Just one." In Cleveland, Caitlin Johnson, cofounder of Clevelanders for Public Transit, tells me that in 2008 and '12, "Obama's people were everywhere. It just isn't the same." In Cincinnati, Robert Miles, chairman of Communities United for Action, a neighborhood group, says, "In 2012, you saw a lot of canvassers. I haven't seen that this time. Instead, a lot of younger people give you the argument that voting isn't worth it."

In Ohio, as elsewhere, Clinton faces two principal opponents. One of them is Donald Trump. The other is despair.

OHIO GAVE HILLARY CLINTON TWO PRIMARY victories, and her husband won the state in 1992 and '96. But in this year's general election, she's in trouble. On paper, Ohio should still be Clinton country. Yet as David Pepper, chairman of the Ohio Democratic Party, admits, "Everyone's been watching her postconvention lead unwind." Ahead by five points in August, Clinton has been chasing Trump in Ohio since early September—when she consigned half of his supporters to "a basket of deplorables," only to briefly become a basket case herself a few days later, after she was filmed stumbling into a van leaving a 9/11 memorial service in New York.

Clinton's health recovered, and she kept Trump on the defensive at their first debate. But her campaign here remains in critical condition, prompting claims that Ohio no longer matters or that she's written the state off. In a memo meant to reassure supporters, campaign manager Robby Mook pointed out that unlike Trump, Clinton has "many paths" to victory without Ohio—a state that didn't appear on her travel schedule for nearly a month.

Campaign expenditures, however, tell a different story. *Bloomberg* reports Clinton spending more on TV ads here than anywhere apart from Florida and Pennsylvania. She's booked $6 million in ads for Cleveland–Akron (compared to $270,000 for Trump) and over $4 million in Cincinnati (versus $394,000 for Trump.) "A lot of money," *Time* observed, to spend on a lost cause. Surrogates, too, suggest that Clinton is still fighting for Ohio. In the wake of her pneumonia, Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren both visited the state. Her game plan here is simple: "If we reenergize the Obama coalition—young people, progressive whites, minority voters—we win," Pepper tells me.

And if they don't? I spent a week driving from Cleveland in the northeast to Cincinnati in the southwest, talking to activists, party officials, Trump and Clinton volunteers, and swing voters. I learned two things: Hillary Clinton is not Barack Obama. And her troubles in Ohio are not exclusive to her—or to the state.

Everywhere you go in Ohio, there are reminders of a prosperous past: John Roebling's gorgeous bridge spanning the Ohio River in Cincinnati; the ruins of Daniel Burnham's Union Station in Columbus; Cleveland's Terminal Tower, once the second-tallest building in the world; the Rubbermaid outlet in Wooster, relic of a company whose plant shut down in 2004 after Wal-Mart switched to a cheaper Chinese supplier.

And the entire city of Youngstown. "*Forbes* called it 'the fastest-dying city' in America," says Kirk Noden, executive director of the Ohio Organizing Collaborative, who grew up there. From a peak population of some 170,000 in the 1930s, the eastern Ohio city now has barely 65,000 inhabitants. Although GM still builds the Chevy Cruze in Lordstown, about 20 minutes away, Youngstown never recovered from the demise of the US steel industry. When the Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company closed in the 1970s, says Noden, "there was an amazing organizing effort—a plan to do a community co-op. All we needed was federal loan guarantees." Jimmy Carter backed the plan—and then changed his mind. "We could have had Mondragon [the huge Basque worker-owned cooperative] in Youngstown. Imagine how history would have been shifted!" Since then, he says, "Democrats at every turn have gone down the other path. You can't sell out people forever and not have that come back on you."

Eight years ago, Clinton got 50,000 votes in Mahoning County, home to Youngstown, clobbering Obama. In this year's primary, she carried the county with just 21,000 votes. Where did her voters go? Trump got 17,000 votes in Mahoning. In May, *The Columbus Dispatch* reported that "three times as many Democrats became Republicans in Ohio's primary as vice versa."

Clinton's baggage on trade—from her husband's push for NAFTA to her own oscillations on the Trans-Pacific Partnership—has won her few friends among Ohio's working class. Her admission that "we're going to put a lot of coal miners and coal companies out of business"—intended to show empathy but coming out horribly callous—will cost her not just in eastern Ohio's Appalachian region, but in Pennsylvania and West Virginia, too.

At the local Republican headquarters in Wooster, about 80 miles west, I come across John O'Brien, a Long Island transplant who used to be a union rep with Local 66 of the Laborers' Union. "Worked 31 years in heavy construction. I did my time in hell," he says. Today,

"If we reenergize the Obama coalition—young people, progressive whites, minority voters—we win."

—David Pepper, Ohio Democratic Party chair

Clinton's motorcade passes a Trump billboard in Toledo on October 3.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY BRIAN SNYDER / REUTERS

O'Brien is doing a brisk business in Trump lawn signs. "Take a Portman sign, too. Gotta protect your Second Amendment," he urges visitors.

As George W. Bush's trade representative, Rob Portman, the incumbent GOP senator, helped negotiate the Central American Free Trade Agreement. Like Clinton, he also supported NAFTA and the TPP—until he, too, changed his mind on the latter. But after $30 million in negative ads paid for by the Koch brothers and the NRA, Portman's Democratic opponent, former governor Ted Strickland—a vocal critic of unfair trade deals who voted against NAFTA as a congressman—went from nine points up in the race to 14 points behind. Strickland's own ads, which tie Portman to Trump, haven't had much effect.

"Forty percent of the guys in my garage are considering voting Trump," says Anshel Epstein, a Cleveland bus driver and member of the Amalgamated Transit Union, which backed Bernie Sanders.

At a Trump rally in Canton in mid-September, it's clear that Clinton will never reach some of these voters. Bob Patram, a retired electrical engineer from Chagrin Falls wearing an "I'm a Deplorable" T-shirt, explains his support for Trump with "Hillary's a crook"—a sentiment presumably shared by the woman sitting next to me at the rally in a "Hillary's Lies Matter" T-shirt.

Thanks to Clinton's scorn for his "deplorables," Trump is on unfamiliar territory this night: the high ground. He, too, evokes past glory: "It used to be cars were made in Flint, and you couldn't drink the water in Mexico. Now the cars are made in Mexico, and you can't drink the water in Flint." When Trump vows that if he's elected, Apple will make iPhones and computers "inside of the United States, not in China," 6,000 people stand and cheer.

African-American voters, like this supporter at a rally in Cleveland, are vital to Clinton's chances.

Do they really think that all it would take is a vote for Trump and "American cars will travel the roads. American planes will fill the skies. American ships will patrol the seas. American hands will rebuild this nation"? I ask Debbie Doll, a blond woman who stands out among the crowd in her green-foam Statue of Liberty hat. "This country's hurting right now," she says, moving swiftly, as such conversations often do, to the topic of race. "My neighbor just had her ninth baby. She's never worked. They need to get away from the free stuff."

"Hillary Clinton is just the lesser of two evils."
—Cleveland voter Fred Ward

The Roosevelt Coffeehouse in Columbus serves up "good coffee for good," pledging to fight "the injustices of hunger, unclean water, and human trafficking" with the proceeds from its drip, V60, and Chemex brews. "If Hillary gets elected, I can live," says Damian Sutton, a senior business major at Ohio State. "If Donald Trump gets elected, it's the end-time. Which is funny, because I typically lean more conservative."

His friend Joey Belczak says he's going the other way: "I think I'll vote for Trump. But I would have voted for Sanders. I very, very much do not support Hillary Clinton. [With Trump,] I'm willing to look past the things that are not right. I don't know what Clinton is up to. I don't trust her. At least I know what I'm getting with Trump."

On Saturday afternoon, I watch Elizabeth Warren light up a crowd of 400, mostly students, at the OSU Union. Calling the TPP a trade deal "that will leave workers eating dirt," while dismissing Trump as "a twisted bully who can't fight his own fights.... A selfish low-life who puts his own interest ahead of everyone and everything else," Warren is on a tear. Her potted history of boom-and-bust from the 1790s to the New Deal might be the best speech I've heard all year. She's having a good time, admitting "I could do this all day" and grinning when the crowd cheers. But she hardly mentions Clinton.

At Clinton's Shaker Square field office in Cleveland, Sandra Walker, a retired judge, tries to recruit volunteers. On the phone, her voice is enthusiastic. But when she hangs up, she's worried. "There isn't the same excitement as for Obama," she tells me. "Maybe because of her past actions and baggage from her husband. Obama was fresh. He didn't really have any baggage."

Obama is also black, as is Walker. African Americans are the most loyal voting bloc in the Democratic coalition; during the primaries, their votes put Clinton over the top in several states, including Ohio. But loyalty is not the same as enthusiasm. The election, Walker says, "is like a trial. You never know what the jury is going to do. And the jury is still out."

"Hillary Clinton is just the lesser of two evils," says Fred Ward. An imposing man with a shaved head and neatly trimmed goatee, Ward presides over a combination organizing hub, Afrocentric bookstore, and cultural center on Cleveland's East Side. He's seen too many Democratic administrations come and go—in Cleveland, in the Statehouse, and in the White House—to expect much change in his part of town whoever wins. When I ask him to explain, he suggests we go for a ride.

Cleveland, he says, is one of the most segregated cities in the country. This summer, thanks to the Cavaliers' championship parade and the Republican convention, America saw a downtown area of sleek high-rises and lovingly restored lofts. We're headed the other way, to East Cleveland, where we quickly leave prosperity behind, navigating pitted streets piled high with rotting garbage and abandoned furniture. The first John D. Rockefeller lived here before moving to New York, but the suburb his son developed is bankrupt, a victim of white flight (98 percent white in 1960, East Cleveland was 94 percent black by 1990). It's also been prey to predatory lending and waves of deindustrialization, which have left GE Lighting, whose campus here was the nation's first industrial park, a headquarters without a local factory.

The geography of Columbus tells a similar story. I arrived there just a few hours after the police shot Tyre King, a 13-year-old who was allegedly running away from the scene of a $10 robbery and pulled out a BB gun. With its flourishing arts scene, booming local economy, thriving university, and lively nightlife, "Columbus is the poster child for corporate Democrats," says Molly Shack, lead organizer of the Columbus People's Partnership. She calls Columbus "a tale of two cities, where four out of five kids in the public schools qualify for free lunches." Tammy Fournier-Alsaada from the People's Justice Project describes "waves of policing" targeting low-income areas. This was followed by "capital investment: sewers, sidewalks, streets. By then,

most of the folks who lived there were gone."

The same process of "Negro removal" can be seen in Cincinnati's Over-the-Rhine, a thriving hipster enclave that, according to a *Politico* puff piece, was "until recently 80 percent African-American." Today, tourists can enjoy $17 burgers on the very blocks that, 15 years ago, saw some of the 20th century's worst urban riots after a policeman killed Timothy Thomas, an unarmed black 19-year-old who was apparently wanted for traffic tickets. Cincinatti's last seven mayors have all been Democrats. Grandin Properties, Over-the-Rhine's biggest private developer, is run by Peg Wyant. Her husband Jack is part owner of the Cincinnati Reds. Their son Chris, a Grandin board member, is Clinton's Ohio state director.

In the end, Clinton's hopes in Ohio rest on two legs. The first is the supposed reluctance of respectable Republicans—following Governor John Kasich's lead—to vote for Trump. When Jim Dicke II, chairman of Crown Equipment, picks me up for breakfast in New Bremen, the plates on his bright-yellow Chevy SSR read "GOP." A member of the Republican National Committee and former commission chair of the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Dicke may be deplorable, but he's certainly not disreputable.

"Of course I wasn't for Trump" in the primaries, he admits. And now? "I'll vote for Trump. I do think Hillary Clinton is fundamentally dishonest, that she sold government policy for money." When I press him a little harder, Dicke says, "Since the convention, I've sent the obligatory $2,700"—far less than the $250,000 he donated to Kasich's PAC. But when I confront him with Trump's long list of slights and slurs, he digs in: "If he was running against a different kind of Democrat, it would be a tough call. If he was running against Sherrod Brown, I'd probably vote for Sherrod Brown. But he isn't."

Clinton's second leg is organization. "We have a major ground-game advantage," says David Pepper. "Obama shows that if it's close, the better-organized party wins."

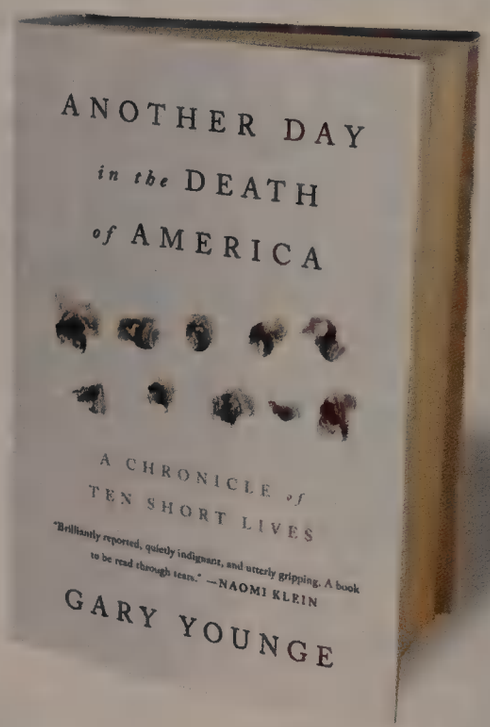
Ohio isn't the only state where Clinton is facing a close race. Of the 14 battleground states tracked by *RealClearPolitics*, the candidates are within five points of each other in 11. Winning any one of these means maximizing turnout, which requires enthusiasm and energy and hope. All of which appear to be in short supply—and not just in Ohio.

As a Clinton donor, I get a half-dozen e-mails every day from the campaign. Most are variations on the warning that "we keep missing our fund-raising goals." Many of the rest evince a sour entitlement: "I am so sick and tired of pretending this guy is a legitimate option to be our president." The only consistent note of solidarity is with other women. If she were facing a different opponent, Clinton's scolding, feel-bad, fearmongering campaign would be a bigger problem. But even if Trump implodes, Clinton—by writing off such large chunks of the electorate—is risking her own party's future. To disaffected whites, to young people, and to those who know all too well that in the Ohio of Tamir Rice and Tyre King, black lives do not yet really matter, she's sending a clear message: The Democratic Party has nothing to offer but more of the same.

With her speech in Toledo earlier this month, Clinton finally began to talk the talk on jobs and trade. On trust and racial justice, and on the fundamental imbalance of power and wealth that distorts our democracy, it's going to take a lot more than talk. But talk is never a bad place to start. If Clinton finds herself in Columbus again, I'm sure Al Edmondson would be happy to offer her a chair. ■

"Brilliantly reported, quietly indignant, and utterly gripping. A book to be read through tears."

—Naomi Klein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The Social Safety Net Doesn't Exist *in* America

After welfare reform, poor people were supposed to be able to find work. Not all of them could—and then the jobs disappeared.

by MONICA POTTS

In 1996, aid to families with dependent children—that is, welfare as we knew it—ended. The Republican Party, which had dominated the federal government since the Reagan Revolution, had had welfare in its sights ever since Lyndon Johnson's Great Society expanded antipoverty programs. Liberals and progressives labeled welfare reform one of the worst things President Bill Clinton did, and rightly blamed it for the increase in child poverty that followed. For the right, though, shrinking welfare was part of a larger effort to decrease the size of government and appeal to working-class whites who had come to believe—erroneously—that AFDC largely benefited urban black recipients who didn't want to work. Antipoverty advocates on the right argued that work was a better way out of poverty, and in the booming 1990s, this was partly true.

Welfare before reform, it's worth remembering, was an old-fashioned program, established when men were expected to earn wages and women to care for the children. In the early 1900s, progressive reformers in Illinois and a few other states started some of America's first cash-payment programs for poor widows, who, if they worked, were often deemed unfit mothers and had their children taken away. These programs were nationalized during the Great Depression, and the assumptions underpinning them—that women should be caretakers and men breadwinners—remained in place. Thus, by the 1990s, it wasn't just conservatives who thought the program needed an overhaul. In limiting women's employment potential and ignoring the nonmonetary contributions a father could make to his children's well-being, welfare butted against the widespread societal shifts the second-wave feminist movement brought about. Prominent feminists, many of them white, were divided on how to address the needs of the poorest women, who were often of color. But almost everyone on the right and left alike agreed that AFDC's payments were too low, locking mothers and their children into a cycle of intergenerational poverty and keeping recipients out of the workforce.

The push for reform culminated in Clinton signing the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act, a law that celebrated its 20th anniversary this summer. In its earliest conceptions, the program it created, Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), was meant to better connect women to educational opportunities and jobs that would enable them to earn more money than they'd ever receive from entitlement programs. "The best antipoverty program is still a job," Clinton said when he signed the bill into law. But the biggest changes the act introduced were not the work requirements. For the first time, recipients faced a five-year lifetime limit on receiving benefits; in addition, the federal government gave states wide leeway with welfare funds, allowing them to be diverted to non-cash-payment programs. The intent was to allow states to fund workforce training, higher education, affordable child care, and other supports that would help women find employment. But in reality, there were almost no standards regarding what states could do—as president, George W. Bush allowed these funds to be used for classes that urged women to get married. Most significant, though, was that the dollar amount given to the states by the federal government, and the amount states were required to contribute themselves, was set at 1996 funding levels, with no mechanism for increasing it. That meant states could run out of money and refuse aid to qualifying families simply because they no longer had the funds. It also meant the cash amounts given to each individual family were eroded by inflation. In July 2015, the highest average cash payment for a single parent with three children was only about $704 a month in California. In two states, Mississippi and Tennessee, benefits are less than $2 per person per day, and in 27 more states the program provides less than $5 per person per day.

While many progressives supported the idea of welfare reform, most objected vociferously to the bill that President Clinton ended up signing.

Monica Potts is a writer based in Virginia and a fellow with the New America Foundation.

Despite these low payments, families must meet onerous requirements. Some states require recipients to apply for 20 jobs a week, and many require people to participate in "work activities" for 20 to 35 hours per week, often for an hourly rate that is well below the minimum wage. Full-time enrollment in college or work-training courses can't be used to meet the work requirement for longer than 12 months, which means recipients can't earn an associate's degree, for example, without also working an almost full-time job. This limits earning potential and pushes recipients into low-paying work. And it means families aren't particularly eager to enroll unless they're desperate. In 1996, when the law was enacted, 68 percent of families with children living in poverty received welfare.; today, only 23 percent do. The sociologists Kathryn Edin and H. Luke Shaefer, who have documented the rise of extreme poverty in the United States since welfare reform, found that before the income from government programs like food stamps is taken into account, the number of US families living in extreme poverty has increased by 35 percent.

These changes have outraged advocates for the poor. While many progressives supported the idea of reform, most objected vociferously to the bill that Clinton ended up signing. They warned that the bill that had emerged from the Republican-controlled Congress would devastate poor families, especially those who faced significant barriers to working. Clinton had vetoed two previous versions of the bill, and they urged him to do so again. Instead, he signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act into law, promising to return to it later to address its flaws. Many were skeptical: "What crystal ball does he have that he knows he can fix it?" asked Deborah Weinstein, an official at the Children's Defense Fund, speaking to *The Washington Post*. "What powerful constituency would be treated that way?"

Twenty years later, it's clear the warnings were correct. As the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reported in September: "A poor family relying solely on TANF to provide the basics for its children—such as during a period of joblessness, illness, or disability—is further below the poverty line today than in 1996 in every state except Maryland, Texas (which keeps benefits pegged at 17 percent of the poverty line), and Wyoming." Clinton still maintains the law did more good than harm, but two years ago, he acknowledged: "The poorest welfare families...are worse off, and we should do something for them. And all of us who supported it should admit that."

Proponents of welfare reform didn't want to replace AFDC with another government program. Instead, they wanted to replace it with work, and at first it looked like the plan might succeed. In the late 1990s, the economy was booming. The gross domestic product grew continuously from 1991 until 2001, one of the longest peri-

ILLUSTRATION BY **BRIAN STAUFFER**

ods of growth on record. In 1996, the unemployment rate was 5.4 percent, and it dropped thereafter until hitting a low of 4 percent in 2000.

But this trend masked a deep erosion in the quality of life. As the economy grew, incomes diverged: 90 percent of job growth came in the service sector, where jobs that pay well usually require a college degree. For everyone else, the jobs were menial and low-paying. By 1999, worker productivity had increased 12 percent over the previous decade, but the average worker's wages went up only 1.9 percent. More recent studies have found that the trend reaches as far back as 1973 and continues to this day. When the Great Recession hit, middle-class households had $17,867 less than they would've had if they'd been paid properly for their rising productivity. Almost half of the jobs created during the recovery—44 percent—have been low-wage service-sector jobs. A better version of the welfare-to-work program would have served as a bridge to well-paying jobs, offering education and training. Instead, states are rewarded for kicking families off TANF whether they find jobs or not. "The whole idea behind TANF was to shift to work," says LaDonna Pavetti, vice president of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, but "states don't do much more than job searches, and even that they don't do very well."

Marvette Hodge, a 36-year-old Virginia native, was in high school when welfare reform was passed. She participated in a work-training program to become a certified nursing assistant when she graduated in 1998, and took her first job in the health-care field at a nursing home in Roanoke, Virginia, where she made $7.25 an hour. "Making that kind of money was pretty good for me because it was my first job," she recalls. In her early 20s, Hodge moved to Richmond and had two daughters—she would later have a third—in a relationship that fell apart, then moved back to Roanoke to be closer to her family. But she went without work for a long time after the move, and eventually found herself in a homeless shelter.

> **"The whole idea behind TANF was to shift to work, but states don't do much more than job searches."**
>
> —LaDonna Pavetti, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

One day, with her toddler on her hip and her infant in a stroller, Hodge walked into a Subway restaurant near the bus station downtown and got a job, starting her life as a low-income working mother. "It wasn't the best job, but it was a job," she says. She worked there four years before moving back into health care. In all her years working, she's never made more than $9 an hour, and has relied on government assistance to help at various times. "I looked for any type of outside help, period," she says, though it wounds her pride. "I hate to have to, even though I know it's there for people in need. I'm hoping my daughters don't have to do this when they get up in age."

Carolina Fuentes and her daughter Katherine wait for an appointment at the county welfare office in Sacramento.

RICH PEDRONCELLI / AP

Census data released in September found that, thanks in part to an increase in the minimum wage in various cities and states and the expansion of Medicaid, incomes rose in 2015 at the fastest rate ever recorded, poverty fell by 1.2 percent, and the number of people with health insurance has grown. But one year of progress can't undo 20 years of decline. And though low-income work provides modest benefits, it incurs enormous costs. One dilemma facing working mothers, mostly single, is that they need to put their children under school age into child care. The welfare-reform law allowed states to use money that once funded cash benefits to expand an existing child-care voucher program. But the program doesn't provide child care to even 16 percent of low-income working mothers. It is also subject to cutbacks during downturns, and the funding has dropped steadily since 2001; 21 states now have a waiting list for the program. When she worked at Subway, Hodge relied on child-care vouchers. "Even with the help they were giving, every two weeks, I had a commitment to pay $50 every paycheck," she says. "Even that was hard to come out of my pocket."

Since the demise of AFDC, the food-stamp program and the earned-income tax credit have been the most robust antipoverty programs in the country. Established in 1975, the EITC, once a modest initiative, has been steadily expanded over the years—and, for the most part, enjoys bipartisan support. Thanks to the EITC, working families with children below a certain income level receive more money back at tax time than they paid in—a supersized tax refund. Families rely on this money to catch up on bills and make long-overdue purchases. (When then–GOP presidential candidate Mitt Romney infamously decried the "47 percent" of Americans who "believe that the government has a responsibility to care for them" because they don't pay income tax, he was referring in part to the EITC, which President Obama expanded in response to the financial crisis. And both Obama and Republican Speaker of the House Paul Ryan have proposed expanding the EITC for workers without children in the home—a measure that would overwhelmingly help low-income men.)

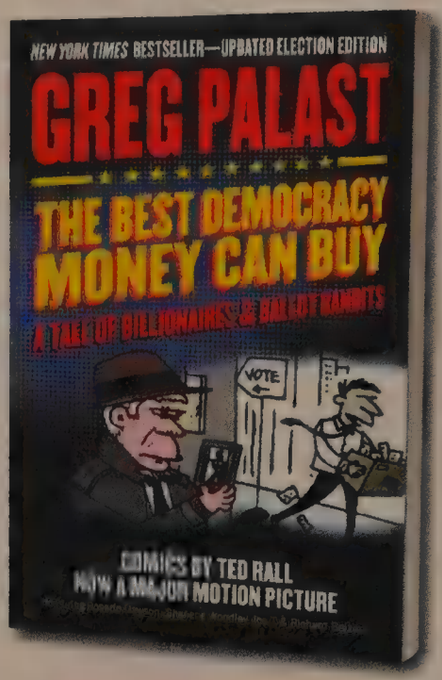
Elizabeth Lower-Basch, director of the income and work-supports team at the Center for Law and Social Policy, says that in some ways, the EITC works like a forced-savings program: The influx of money helps families make big purchases they may have been putting off. In 2012, I met a single mom living in a hotel who was waiting for her EITC refund so that she could get necessary car repairs and update her expired vehicle registration. Part of the problem, though, is that the EITC refund comes only once a year, at tax time. "If you have an emergency, it doesn't help if you're getting a payment in nine months," Lower-Basch says. The EITC can represent as much as a third of a family's income. Hodge, who recently went back to work as a nursing assistant and returned to Richmond with her daughters, now 15, 12, and 8, says she makes about $12,000 a year because the work is so sporadic. She can count on an EITC payment

at tax time as high as $9,000. "That's when I've had to catch up with things like rent or—shoot, it can be a number of things," she says. If there's any money left over, she budgets it out for the near term. But she'd much rather have more money through steady, better-paying work than a big payment once a year.

Food stamps, formally known as the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, remain a bulwark against hunger for the families of the working poor. Slashed in 1996 as part of the welfare-reform package, SNAP is nonetheless one of America's last real entitlement programs. Food-stamp funding increases to meet the need, reaching 85 percent of the families who qualify for it, including about three-quarters of the working poor. Food stamps often provide the only regular income that single adult men who aren't the custodial parents of their children have. But the program faces cuts during recessions, when families need it most, and conservatives in Congress have routinely worked to limit the food stamps that recipients who don't have children in the home can receive. And in most states, the amount of money provided every week falls well short of what shopping for a healthy diet requires.

Though SNAP has become more valuable for families living below the poverty line, it can impose its own difficulties on the lives of the working poor. Like most federal antipoverty programs, SNAP hasn't adapted to the fact that more single mothers are working, and it often requires in-person appointments to renew eligibility—appointments that don't necessarily coincide with reapplication appointments for other programs. This means that families have to go to a social-services agency as many as six times a year, and as many as 17 to 28 percent of eligible families are kicked off benefit programs as a result of missing appointments.

"A SEARING INDICTMENT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One of the biggest problems with the welfare-to-work program was that it didn't take into consideration the fact that some people are simply not able to work. Now, those who can't work often make disability claims, which have grown by almost a third since 2001. The United States spends $260 billion in disability payments, and it spends even more on the disabled because they qualify for Medicaid. The increase corresponds, to some extent, to the shrinking of the welfare rolls.

Terry Garrett, 48 and living in Alexandria, Virginia, collects disability when she might have been eligible for welfare before reform because she's unable to work. Garrett's history is complicated: She was the victim of sexual abuse as a child; her mother was murdered when she was 17; and she was a teenage mom. Garrett's parents were both alcoholics, and she started drinking as a kid. Soon after her fourth child, she started smoking crack cocaine. Throughout, Garrett pieced together work, legal and illegal. Most of her legitimate jobs were at fast-food restaurants and low-cost retailers. In 2005, she stole a cash register from a Kinko's and was sentenced to seven months in jail. She got clean, and has stayed that way since she got out a decade ago. But a constellation of mental-health issues made it difficult for her to stay focused on the job, so Garrett applied for disability. After three denials over three years, she was finally granted it. She now collects about $600 a month, and that, plus food stamps and the occasional fee for her work as a motivational speaker, comprise the majority of her income.

There are other factors responsible for the increase in disability claims, including greater recognition of learning and mental disabilities, gravely injured veterans returning from our long wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the incentive that states have to encourage qualifying individuals to apply for disability, which is funded by the federal government. Still, despite critics' claims of widespread fraud in the disability program, the truth is that about 65 percent of initial claims are denied. And the system poses other problems: "Disability"—a loaded term in any case—is an either/or designation; people are labeled either able to work or not. We don't have a social safety net that allows for the fact that someone might not be able to work right now but could work later, or that someone who is physically unable to do a job they're currently qualified for might be able to take a higher-skilled job with the proper training.

This is the conundrum of the current welfare state: For the most part, there isn't one. And that's not likely to change. Donald Trump has criticized social-safety-net programs (other than Social Security) as rife with fraud—and, like many Republicans, he would extend the devastating block-grant funding method to Medicaid. The only plan Trump has proposed for the poor is a vague one to increase jobs, mostly by rolling back trade deals and government regulations. Hillary Clinton's plans include a bevy of proposals that would help working families at the bottom, including raising the minimum wage, increasing access to child care, and making public higher education debt-free. But other than saying we need to take a "hard look" at welfare reform, Clinton hasn't fully walked back her support for the bill her husband signed, blaming its flaws on the way it was implemented. To really change TANF, the federal government would need to be tougher on states about the way they spend welfare funds and hold them accountable for getting recipients into jobs that pay an actual living wage. For the most part, though, Clinton's attentions—along with the rest of Washington's—are elsewhere. ■

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Letters

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(continued from page 2)

vote for the candidate who won the Democratic nomination. We knew that to do otherwise would be to send America down a path of destruction. I hope others will be as civil in their actions at the ballot box. Clinton would be an excellent candidate even if she weren't running against the worst person in America. I hope people follow Pollitt's admonition to get on board.

DIANE WAHTO
WICHITA, KANS.

Katha Pollitt's essay seems to imply that while Trump will dump us in hell, Hillary will help us rise to heaven—as if there are fundamental differences between the Democrats and Republicans. Back in the 1800s, Karl Marx observed that "the oppressed are allowed once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them." During the 1900s, journalist Paul Y. Anderson referred to the two parties as "two wings of the same bird of prey." The current situation requires me to update their observations: "Our two parties are the opposite cheeks of the same pig's ass." Let's all vote Green!

STEWART M. ROBINSON
CLEVELAND HEIGHTS, OHIO

Media Malfeasance

Bravo to Mark Hertsgaard for calling out the media's shortcomings during this oh-so-embarrassing election season ["Trump's Media Enablers," Oct. 10]. I used to be proud to have been a reporter at a metropolitan daily, but when the media fail to live up to their historic responsibility for reporting facts and news, I shudder for the future.

SUSAN CROCE KELLY
GRAVOIS MILLS, MO.

Pragmatism Trumps Purity?

In "The Greens Are the Best Path to Radical Change" [Oct. 10], Kshama Sawant writes that she understands the desire of progressives who will vote for Clinton to keep Trump out of the White House. But then she adds: "I understand their desire to see him defeated, but even more important is..." I never finished that sentence.

PETER LUSHING
NEW YORK CITY

Uberteachers

Alissa Quart's "Driven to Extremes" [Sept. 26/Oct. 3] aptly describes Uber's recruitment of public-school teachers, who drive to supplement their inadequate incomes. Another aspect worth noting is the high ethical standards that teachers must maintain in order to keep their jobs in education. Uber benefits from the extensive federal and state background checks that teachers must undergo to qualify for licensure. Teachers can also be quickly terminated for any conduct unbecoming a professional educator, including conduct outside of school. As a principal, I am deeply concerned that excellent teachers may jeopardize their careers due to the stresses of overwork (Uberwork?) or an Uber passenger's complaint. Uber's decision to recruit teachers will only exacerbate the national teacher shortage.

DORINNE DORFMAN
WATERBURY CENTER, VT.

Correction

Patricia Williams's column "The 'Hillary Effect'" [Oct. 24] stated that Barbara Underwood was the first female faculty member at Yale Law School. While Underwood was an early female faculty member, she was not the first.

Podemos supporters in Madrid, January 31, 2015.

THE TWO POPULISMS

Throughout the North Atlantic, insurgencies on the left and the right are challenging mainstream politics. The question is: Which popular movement—the left's or the right's—will prevail?

by JEDEDIAH PURDY

Earlier this year, about 25 million primary voters backed two insurgent candidates who attacked their parties' establishments and America's system of "rigged" economic and political competition. The democratic socialist Bernie Sanders and plutocratic nationalist Donald Trump are in most ways as opposed as matter and antimatter, but their astonishing campaigns were propelled by a shared sense of indignation that linked left and right this year: the feeling that too many ordinary Americans have suffered and seen their economic prospects slip away, even as the country's elites have reaped the fruits of a system stacked in their favor. On both sides, voters have had enough, and they want control of their country returned to the people—or at least to politicians who they believe will represent their interests and concerns. Thus, even with Sanders sidelined, 2016 remains a populist moment.

The new populism that shook up the primaries isn't exclusively American. Across Europe, established parties are seeing their grip on power shaken by insurgents from the left and the right. Some—like France's National Front and the Dutch Party for

The Populist Explosion
How the Great Recession Transformed American and European Politics.
By John B. Judis.
Columbia Global Reports. 182 pp. $12.99.

What Is Populism?
By Jan-Werner Müller.
University of Pennsylvania Press.
123 pp. $19.95.

Jedediah Purdy teaches at Duke University and is the author, most recently, of After Nature.

Freedom—are anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim. Others—like Syriza in Greece, Podemos in Spain—more closely resemble Sanders's campaign. Many, though not all, are hostile to the European Union, which for decades has been the shared project of mainstream parties on the left and the right.

Britain's surprise vote to leave the European Union in June was a recent example of this growing insurgency against the political mainstream. A grassroots rebellion against the elite circles of multicultural and Europe-oriented London, the vote for Brexit came from the working-class and rural bases of both parties. In its wake, calls for similar referendums in France and the Netherlands were made by Marine Le Pen, the leader of the National Front, and Geert Wilders, Holland's most visible right-wing populist.

Two slim and very different books published this fall attempt to make sense of this growing populist wave that is sweeping much of the Western Hemisphere. John B. Judis, a longtime political journalist and coauthor of *The Emerging Democratic Majority*, has written *The Populist Explosion*, a sweeping narrative—rich in historical and political argument—that ably ties together the insurgencies on both sides of the Atlantic. Jan-Werner Müller, a political scientist at Princeton who writes mostly on Western European affairs, offers a narrower definition in *What Is Populism?* But he also sheds important light on this anti-elite electoral revolt.

Judis adopts a broad definition of populism, borrowed from the historian Michael Kazin, which includes everything from the American segregationist George Wallace to the leftist leaders of Podemos and Syriza. Populism, he writes, portrays "ordinary people as a noble assemblage not bounded narrowly by class; views their elite opponents as self-serving and undemocratic"; and works to rally the working and middle classes against the elite. Left-wing populism does so by punching upward at the ruling class. Right-wing populism often punches both up and down: It attacks those at the top of the economic and political ladder, but it also targets the disenfranchised, whether racial minorities, the poor, or immigrant groups.

In the United States, left-wing populism extends back to the People's Party, which challenged Democratic and Republican power at the end of the 19th century, rallying farmers and laborers against railroads and banks. This tradition of organized people storming the citadels of organized money saw a great revival this year in the Sanders campaign.

The paradigm of right-wing populism, on the other hand, is what some have described as Wallace's "middle American radicalism." In 1972, Wallace voters supported federal spending on middle-class programs and saw themselves as caught between the undeserving poor and the overindulgent rich. The Alabama governor was also the candidate of "segregation forever," and his campaign helped pave the way for the later right-wing effort to identify antipoverty programs as benefiting so-called "welfare queens."

Judis sees the post-2008 economic crisis as the event that touched off today's populist challenge. The Great Recession, as it has become known, helped ignite the Tea Party right and the Occupy Wall Street left. Both were opposed to what they viewed as a coalition of political and financial elites against ordinary people. But Judis's deeper diagnosis portrays today's populism as a growing resistance to the market-oriented policies that have dominated European and American politics since the age of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher: monetary and trade policies that sent traditional manufacturing to low-wage countries; an increased role for the financial industry in the economy; and a fraying of public institutions, from universities to infrastructure, that caused many citizens to conclude that government no longer represented their interests.

Like some other writers on the left, Judis gathers these policies under the rubric of "neoliberalism," a phenomenon that is bipartisan and transatlantic and that is as much the work of center-left parties in the United States, Britain, and Germany as of those on the right. Judis believes neoliberal policy not only introduced a new style of market-oriented governance; it created a new constituency that felt shut out of the promises of a previous era. After a nearly 30-year burst of widely shared growth, the middle and working classes, especially in the United States, have seen stagnant or declining wages and have experienced downward mobility. They have also developed a keen sense of displacement, which the sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild recently called the feeling of being "strangers in their own land."

Judis argues that these voters have known for decades that neither a Democratic Party joined at the hip to Goldman Sachs and Silicon Valley, nor a Republican Party dominated by its Chamber of Commerce wing, had much to offer them. But the good-enough prosperity of Bill Clinton's second term and the war-and-security fixations of national politics after the 9/11 attacks made this growing sense of populist discontent easy to ignore.

With the 2008 crisis and the recession that followed, all of this changed. The Tea Party began to wield its muscle in the Republican primaries (including the defeat of House majority leader Eric Cantor in 2014), while Occupy Wall Street began to agitate on the left. For Judis, Trump and Sanders were the obvious next steps, as the anti-establishment revolt moved from the periphery to the heart of America's two-party system.

The Populist Explosion brings American readers up-to-date on similar movements that have emerged in Europe. (It might be usefully read alongside Susan Watkins's essay "Oppositions" in the *New Left Review*'s March/April 2016 issue, which offers a more theoretically ambitious survey of the same developments.) Judis connects the right-wing populism of Trump with Europe's anti-immigrant parties like the National Front, the Swiss People's Party, and the Finns Party. He also persuasively ties Sanders's "political revolution" to left-wing parties like Syriza and Podemos.

Judis also captures what populists on the right and left in Europe have in common: a general skepticism toward the EU and globalization. In creating a single market across the continent, Judis observes, the European Union ensured freedom of movement for both corporations and low-wage workers. But it also helped to undermine the peace treaties between unions and industry that created a more equal and social-democratic Europe. The EU also imposed strict limits on budget deficits. These limits have been imposed to stabilize the EU's common currency, the euro, and to prevent inflation, but the policy has prevented individual states from using Keynesian borrow-and-spend measures to address economic downturns, and it has forced austerity on already cash-strapped countries like Greece and Spain. Perhaps of greatest importance for Judis's argument, it has also denied many European social-democratic parties the policy tools that they would need to pursue their traditional program of shared growth.

As a result, nationalist parties on the right have been able to position themselves as the defenders of working-class interests. When these parties arose in the 1950s and '60s, they were the parties of farmers and shopkeepers. Since the '70s, they've become the parties of the hollowed-out industrial centers where socialists and communists once dominated.

With liberal and conservative elites coalescing around policies that create wide-

spread economic insecurity, many members of Europe's working and middle classes have a justified sense that political leaders don't care much about their interests. Progressives, then, face a much more complex set of tasks than in the past: not only to begin to rebuild a more egalitarian Europe, but also to build movements that are able to stave off the nationalist temptations that turn populist sentiment into Trumpism.

In contrast to Judis's wide-ranging story, *What Is Populism?* proposes a narrower definition. Müller reserves the term for movements that "claim that they, and they alone, represent the people." Müller's populists deny the legitimacy of pluralism, the difficult and burdensome duty of sharing a country with different kinds of people. Instead, they announce, as Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan did against his critics, "We are the people. Who are you?" And they echo lines like this one from Trump: "The only important thing is the unification of the people—because the other people don't mean anything."

In Müller's concept of populism, its advocates assert that certain parts of the body politic count, morally speaking, as the whole people, and everyone else is nobody. This antipluralist populism easily accommodates the ugly impulse to eliminate or drive out "foreign" elements: think of border walls, deportations, racial segregation, and worse. For Müller, populism is not just democracy in an insurgent mood, as Judis might argue; rather, it is "a degraded form of democracy," democracy betraying itself.

Starting from such different premises and stories, it might seem that Judis and Müller are talking past each other. Müller acknowledges that his is a very European view of populism, much more concerned with the exclusionary nationalism common to the European right than with the economic anti-elitism of groups like the People's Party. But Müller's approach also bears its own fruits.

One strength of Müller book is that he spends some time parrying bad arguments about populism, which have flourished in a variety of intellectually useless and actively pernicious think pieces. He is especially hard on the two tics of liberal commentary heard on America's coasts: psychologizing populism as a symptom of resentment or the "authoritarian personality," and dismissing populists as irresponsible rubes who don't understand the tenets of sound economic and social policy.

These criticisms, Müller points out, are really refusals to take political disagreement

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seriously—which, after all, is precisely the political sin of antipluralists like Trump. A major problem with the horrified response to Trump's campaign—however appropriate in other respects—has been its self-serving imprecision. Whether by sweeping the very different Sanders campaign into the same all-inclusive condemnation of "irresponsible" and "angry" movements, or by lumping Trump's views on trade policy (a legitimate argument to make in a democratic contest) with his xenophobia (which should be considered beyond the pale), the liberal response has often created cartoons out of both left and right populism. It also misses, in Müller's view, what is so dangerous about populism's discontents.

The reason Trump is a dangerous populist, Müller insists, is not that he attacks elites or appeals to resentment, but something more precise: Trump trades in an exclusionary fantasy about who "the people" are. It is a fantasy that pretends to be democratic ("let the people rule!") but is much closer to authoritarianism in its logic. If the people are always right, and Trump is their tribune, then why should Trump brook dissent or accept defeat?

Müller thinks the standard (and somewhat comforting) liberal line that populists can't govern—because once in power, they either flail wildly and lose credibility or else morph into ordinary politicians—is simplistic. He points to the nationalist party Fidesz in Hungary and to Hugo Chávez in Venezuela to argue that the problem is not that populists can't govern, but that they do so in ways that undercut important democratic institutions. In Müller's view, populists tend to embrace clientelism, guiding public wealth toward the groups they consider the heart of the nation. They use state power, such as criminal prosecution, to support their allies and harry or punish the "enemies of the people." Think of Trump's attacks on the "Mexican" federal judge Gonzalo Curiel, or his suggestion that he would open up libel laws to help powerful people bankrupt their critics in the media.

In these ways, Trump-style populism can help to create the kind of country its partisans describe: a country split along the braided lines of ideology and identity, with the rhetoric of "unification" serving to deepen the divide between the people and everyone else.

But a question still remains: Why this wave of populism now? Judis offers one explanation, which traces our current moment's insurgencies to the recent recession. He also links them more generally to the economic inequality he believes was created by the past four decades of neoliberal policies. Müller doesn't ignore economic factors, but his explanation is more cultural: Democracy promises rule by the people, but its institutions never make that promise real; there is always a gap between the promise of democratic self-rule and the ways a polity works. Populism, in Müller's view, exploits this gap by promising to put "the people" in power once and for all.

Müller also believes that there is another cultural phenomenon at work: politics that pivots on celebrating or denouncing group identity. "When identity politics predominates," he writes, "populism will prosper." For Müller, populism is the ultimate identity politics, centering its concerns on the question of who is—and who is not—a part of the country. He isn't alone in making this argument: Arlie Russell Hochschild points out that many rural and small-town conservatives see the Democrats as practicing one kind of identity politics, which forces certain cultural views on their communities, and so they respond with their own identity politics, cheering on Trump's praise of "real Americans" like themselves.

But Müller's criticism of identity politics needs some refinement. A lot of what we call "identity politics" is about basic forms of civic respect. What Hochschild's Tea Party supporters see as coercion from liberals is to others the most basic protection from bigotry—not being called names, appearing in public without fear of humiliation, approaching (or being approached by) a police officer without fearing for your life. You can't have a healthy pluralist politics when large groups of people believe that the state or their fellow citizens don't take their lives seriously.

Moreover, the heated controversies over immigration and race that candidates like Trump exploit tie together the identity politics issues of respect and dignity with "material" issues like schooling, incarceration, and policing in ways that are difficult to pull apart. As long as identity, the fundamental fact of who you are, remains intensely relevant to how the state treats you and whether you are rich or poor, secure or precarious, identity politics isn't going away. Perhaps what most needs to be criticized is not identity politics on its own, but the kind of politics that makes the symbolic affirmation of identity its core point.

This is the style of Trump's white nationalism—bullying and flag-waving by a man who has never shown interest in the lives of working people—and it fosters a blend of nihilism and narcissism, in which politics makes no real and concrete changes but instead only shows you your own reflected face.

Arguments about how to understand populism are often also fights over something else. They are arguments about what is at stake in the politics of our time, what is the greatest danger we face as democracies, and how radically we can hope to expand equality and deepen democratic self-government.

Judis is sympathetic to populists because he believes policy elites have robbed voters of something precious: the economic citizenship—what some New Deal figures called "economic democracy"—of the mid-20th century. Like Bernie Sanders, Paul Krugman, and other social democrats, Judis recognizes that the postwar era of unions, entitlement programs, and public institutions created a better world for working people than any earlier epoch in Western history. That world was buried by the policies of Reagan and Thatcher and the transformation of liberal and social-democratic parties by groups like Bill Clinton's New Democrats and Tony Blair's New Labourites. Social democrats may have championed the creation of the European Union, but in reality, it is no friend of a robust social-democratic Europe.

Left-wing populists are quite right, in Judis's view of recent history, to want to build a new version of social democracy that transcends the limits of earlier social-democratic parties. These populists champion a welfare state free of the racial and gender exclusions that limited the social democratic policies of the mid-twentieth century. For its part, right-wing populism is misguided and ugly, but Judis also finds things in it that are worth taking seriously. It, too, responds to the elites' betrayal of the working and middle classes, who, for the first time in history, actually were "the people" for a few decades of the 20th century. Judis sees this betrayal as the most acute danger to modern democracy, and he leaves the reader with the sense that the left desperately needs a response.

Müller is sympathetic to concerns about economic inequality and the loss of democratic accountability, but his book mainly examines the ways that democracy can misfire on its own terms when the "rule of the people" becomes a way of asserting that only some groups count as "the people." His argument is much subtler than the raft of polemics from the primary season claiming to diagnose the Trump candidacy as the perennial and predictable distemper

Marine Le Pen, Jean-Marie Le Pen, and Bruno Gollnisch at ■ National Front rally, May 2010.

of democracy, as if democratic politics always tended to be consumed by its own id. But Müller has the same concerns as those anxious critics of democracy who are more hostile than he is to democracy itself: that majorities—or would-be majorities—can make politics a vehicle of self-aggrandizing national myths and exclude and exploit whichever vulnerable groups the myth does not favor.

How should we orient ourselves to the promise and danger of this populist moment? Mainstream commentators have developed a habit of describing today's politics as a choice between openness and inclusion: free trade, immigration, diversity, and international organizations like the European Union—and their opposites—protectionism, anti-immigrant policies and rhetoric, and votes like Brexit.

When the choice is posed as being between openness, on the one hand, and parochialism and bigotry, on the other, one has to side with openness. But this version of the choice, which pits an elite-centered liberalism against an ethno-nationalist populism, tends (conveniently) to leave out the social-democratic alternative that Judis calls left-wing populism. Taking a democratic, egalitarian alternative seriously requires asking not merely "Openness—for or against?" but "What kind of openness, and for whom?"

The versions of globalization and European integration that we've seen thus far, with a market-oriented economic integration far outrunning democratic political control, have benefited two classes of people in particular: the privileged and mobile, such as professionals and investors, for whom borders are mainly a nuisance; and the poor and vulnerable, who would otherwise be trapped in difficult circumstances (ranging from the economic hardship of a rural Polish village to the devastation in much of Syria).

Economic integration has been much harder on the people in between, not least the members of the traditional working class, whose economic lives have become more precarious even as their cultural landscape becomes unfamiliar. It should come as no surprise, then, that they seize on nationalist politics to reassert some sense of control—at least over their own identities—as their economic opportunities decline.

When these populist insurrections take the form of National Front xenophobia and Trumpist intolerance, opposing them is essential. It is also politically and morally easy, especially for those of us who have done pretty well under a regime of neoliberal openness. It's far more difficult to think through what kind of political openness a progressive alternative should pursue and, perhaps more discomfortingly, what kind of economic boundaries might also be necessary to create a more egalitarian society in a global economy.

No politics can be defined only by openness, no matter how appealing that might sound. Politics needs boundaries and lines; it needs a specific community. The reasons for this are not sentimental or cultural; they have nothing to do with "real Americans" or *la France profonde*. They are practical requirements for institutions of self-government, in particular when it

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The difficult and unpleasant fact is that to be for social-democratic policies today means also being for borders, for a line demarcating who is in and who is out, and for limits on the mobility of labor. Economic policies are partly the product of a peace pact between classes and between capital and labor, especially over questions such as mobility and borders. Any egalitarian economy will come under stress when capital is free to leave and labor is free to enter.

There is still a vast moral and political difference between a "France for the French" economy of the National Front variety, which is exclusionary and hierarchical both within and outside national borders, and a national economy that is fair, inclusive, humane, and free of ethnonational caste systems—but that is also in critical ways closed.

This is a genuine dilemma for the left. It will not bother the nationalist right, which is at home with "protecting our own" through social and political exclusion. But those who want to combine economic democracy with cosmopolitan moral concern, personal freedom of movement, and an egalitarian social order must face a set of tough questions with no easy answers in sight. Democracy remains caught within borders, and the power of democratic politics to shape and discipline the economy will only grow weaker without some geographical and economic boundaries being drawn.

To build an alternative to right-wing exclusion and neoliberal openness, left-wing populists need simultaneously to acknowledge the importance of borders and to work on developing the kinds of internationalism that might eventually allow political accountability to keep pace with globalization. The left must find ways to resist the exclusionary interpretations of borders and national communities and to build cosmopolitan movements that engage many national governments at the same time. Carving this path between nationalist exclusions and neoliberal openness will be difficult, and it will be the work of many years to come.

The United States' two major parties, as well as many in Western Europe, are busy absorbing their populist revolts. Trump's campaign has threatened to break the Republicans' coalition of Southern and rural white voters away from wealthy business interests and libertarians. Sanders's campaign, too, introduced a class rift among the Democrats, attracting lower-income blue-collar voters who haven't historically supported "insurgent" candidates in the Eugene McCarthy or Howard Dean mold.

Judis thinks that left-wing populists like those in the Sanders movement have a historical mission, much like the original People's Party and its progressive successors: They can help replace transatlantic neoliberalism with 21st-century versions of economic democracy and citizenship—a new New Deal, you might say.

Müller agrees that the Sanders campaign was a just response to an unequal economy and a money-soaked political system. But for him, the urgent task now has less to do with the left and more to do with the right. He believes we need to head off those populists who are distorting legitimate discontent into racist and illiberal movements. The key thing, Müller argues, is to engage the likes of Trump's supporters without adopting any of their bullying or exclusionary themes. The French, who erected a *cordon sanitaire* around the National Front even as President Nicolas Sarkozy adapted its anti-immigrant themes for his center-right party, did it all wrong, from Müller's perspective. Bernie Sanders, who punched up at "the billionaire class" without turning to xenophobia or ethnonationalism, did it right.

Because the populists won the Republican nomination and lost the Democratic one, a possible result of this year's presidential election is a realignment in which the Democrats secure a landslide victory by attracting big tracts of the Republicans' "respectable" constituencies. It might also mean that the party will shed even more votes among rural and working-class white Americans than it has before. This would split the poor and the working class by race. White workers and poor people would be clustered as right-wing nationalists in a Trumpian movement party, while black and Latino workers and poor people would be lodged in an antiracist but economically moderate Democratic Party. Neither group would be in a position to demand meaningful economic reform.

Under that bleak scenario, "populism" on both sides of the Atlantic would mean something closer to Müller's destructive and exclusionary nationalism than to Judis's hopeful revolt. Which of these turns out to be the more apt understanding of populism is a question that history and politics, not argument, will decide. In the meantime, these two books serve as a valuable guide of what might come next. ■

SETTLING DOWN

Jay McInerney, Tama Janowitz, and Bret Easton Ellis (1990).

Once the voice of youthful dissatisfaction, the Brat Pack grows up

by MICHELLE DEAN

Writers beware: Marketing categories can be destiny. Few people in America know this better than the handful of writers gathered under the banner of the "Brat Pack." The membership is now middle age and frankly a little testy about still having to deal with the label. "That whole 'brat pack' thing—Jay McInerney and Tama Janowitz and Bret Easton Ellis and whoever else was supposed to be a part of it—was a myth," Ellis told *The Paris Review* in 2010. "It never existed."

There has always been a whiff of fable about the notion of a "community" of writers. The Bloomsbury set, the Algonquin Round Table, the Paris expatriates, the New York intellectuals: Each of these is a generational frame that is often posthumously applied and even more frequently disputed. We make these contemporaries into cohorts because there's something alluring about the notion of writers conferring over coffee, brawling over drinks, or—in the Brat Pack's case—trading lines of cocaine. It suits a certain view of the creative life and the creative process. Artists are made not only by their art; they are also made by their friends, their idols, and their enemies.

Drenching literature in social context also fits with a certain view of what the novel ought to do. A novel can offer us some kind of report from the milieu that produced it. Comedies of manners and social novels can make claims about the zeitgeist, the spirit of a particular time. Mood, after all, is the advantage that a novelist can have

Bright, Precious Days
By Jay McInerney.
Knopf. 416 pp. $27.95.

Scream
A Memoir of Glamour and Dysfunction.
By Tama Janowitz.
Dey Street. 304 pp. $25.99.

Lunar Park
By Bret Easton Ellis.
Ballantine. 400 pp. Paper. $15.95.

Michelle Dean is a journalist and critic based in New York. Her book Sharp: The Women Who Made an Art of Having an Opinion *will be published in 2017.*

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over the historian or sociologist. Recite all the facts and statistical figures you want; they will never quite get you to the point of what it *felt* like to be somewhere.

Perhaps because the pursuit of mood was at the very center of the Brat Pack's early fiction, the idea that they also constitute something of a generation stuck. They shared a time and place in common: a certain striving iteration of New York in the 1980s—or, in Ellis's case, a certain striving iteration of Los Angeles. The feelings they tried to capture in their early work—McInerney's *Bright Lights, Big City*, Ellis's *Less Than Zero*, Janowitz's *Slaves of New York*—were also commonly shared and distinctive to their milieu: What they were after was not really feelings at all, but a lack of them. As one of Janowitz's "slaves" complains in her 1986 short-story collection, "I had a hunger for things I knew realistically I didn't actually care for." Or as an Ellis character muses in *Less Than Zero*, "I think we've all lost some sort of feeling."

In our own time, this pose of alienation—especially by debut novelists—has become so familiar that even quotes like these can sound like clichés. But in the boom years of the 1980s, the Brat Pack seemed to be offering something new. The thought that young people might no longer be looking at the American dream through Horatio Alger's rose-colored glasses appeared bold, even radical. The Brat Packers were living in an age in which the idea of prosperity appeared to be a given, sold to the populace along with Reaganomics and junk bonds. What on earth, adults thought, could these kids be complaining about? Things couldn't be better.

Never mind, of course, that an American literary tradition of cynicism, in particular toward wealth and success, can be traced back to F. Scott Fitzgerald and the Roaring '20s. But there was a signal difference here, critics argued: Fitzgerald believed that money and ambition were the problem, opening lesions in the American psyche that could not be closed again. The Brat Pack appeared to offer no similar critique. Alienated as its members were, most of their early work declined into rage. It wasn't even sad about the things they saw. The Brat Packers lived instead in a state of uncomfortable acceptance. Their fiction never exactly criticized or celebrated the excesses of their moment; it just ambivalently dwelt in them.

As an approach to the world, this conflicted sense of apathy never made much sense in the abstract: How does one feel a sense of *not* feeling? How does one write about the *lack* of spirit in the times? But it has also proved difficult to translate into their later work. Once alienated rebels, disaffected by the booming capitalism of the late 20th century, each Brat Packer eventually seems to have opted for a different mode of acquiescence: Janowitz abandoned her bohemian life in New York, Ellis turned to the entertainment-industrial complex, and McInerney became suburban.

Originally from Hartford, Connecticut, and by all accounts proud of having ended up in Manhattan, McInerney would perhaps be the most horrified by this diagnosis. His early career was defined by a pursuit of everything that was not suburban. His first novel, *Bright Lights, Big City*, was about a young fact-checker with literary inclinations at a *New Yorker*–like institution. Depressed by his uninspiring work and failing first marriage, the protagonist is more interested in the literary nightlife than in writing itself. "You went to parties with writers, cultivated a writerly persona," he muses in the second-person narration. "You wanted to skip over the dull grind of actual creation."

Nihilistic though this all might sound, there was something worth exploring here, this dissatisfaction of a Man Who Had Everything—or at least a man who had a job and a partner. But in McInerney's post–*Bright Lights* career, the explorer's spirit has petered out. He found himself, after his early fame, caught in a kind of loop, returning again and again to the "problem" of a man who has settled for a lesser kind of life—less successful and less ambitious, given McInerney's self-assessed talent.

The novel he published this year, *Bright, Precious Days*, is an excellent case in point, a dramatization of the act of giving up. The novel is actually the third installment of a trilogy McInerney has been writing since the late '80s. *Brightness Falls*, the first installment, appeared in 1992; *The Good Life*, its successor, in 2006. The books follow the travails of Russell Calloway and his wife Corrine as they make their way through the rarefied—but frequently impoverishing—cultural industries of Manhattan. Sweethearts from their 20s on, the Calloways have by now survived innumerable infidelities, but it's getting late in the marriage and the lights are growing dim. Russell also suffers from career angst, as a publisher of literary books in an environment whose economics are increasingly stacked against that very endeavor.

McInerney's prose skills are still considerable, even if *Bright, Precious Days* has, like

almost all of McInerney's novels, the key elements of commercial fiction. The plot is filled with familiar characters and story lines—an alluring young woman comes onto the scene, an affair resurfaces from the past. At least it's nicely rendered: The novel's last lines, in particular, are as clear and lyrical a statement of the disappointments of a middle-aged, entitled, overeducated New Yorker as you're likely to read:

> She knows that later it won't be the party she will remember so much as this, the walk with her husband in the crisp autumn air, bathed in the yellow metropolitan light spilling from thousands of windows, this suspended moment of anticipation before arrival.

That said, the banality of Russell's problems cannot be overstated. He is unhappy; Corrine is unhappy too. There may be some argument, given McInerney's evident obsession with the ins and outs of prestige publishing, that these characters offer some kind of insight into that world, and that they at least attack their malaise with an intellectual flavor uncommon to the hoi polloi. But ultimately, there is very little difference; no one in this book behaves in any way that might surprise or shock an audience familiar with afternoon soap operas. The allure of a young acolyte, a resurfaced affair: These are all matters handled expertly by network television.

Another sort of writer would display some awareness of this in the narrative style. A cleverer novelist might try to use the familiar tropes of the soap opera to open up questions about whether his rarefied sphere is really so rarefied after all. But McInerney doesn't give us these things. While the narrator of *Bright Lights* is often disturbed by the pretensions of those around him, in *Bright, Precious Days*, Russell Calloway accepts them completely. "What he wanted to say was that being a resident not only of Manhattan but of downtown was an irreducible core of his identity," McInerney writes. Which is all very well and good, but put so earnestly, it is really the argument of a real-estate listing, not a novel.

Tama Janowitz is much less sentimental about it all. She's always been that way. The people of *Slaves of New York* are somewhat more proletarian than the people of *Bright Lights*. This is true even when it comes to their sense of alienation and bohemianism. They are worried about the rent, which is how they all find themselves living together in spite of being deeply unsuitable for each other. They're less interested in the status games of publishing and the art world and much more interested in trying to make something of themselves as actual artists.

This is not to say that most of Janowitz's characters turn out to be any good at what they're doing. Stash, the artist-boyfriend of the title story, is something more like a garden-variety jerk than a brilliant artist. "You're beginning to bore me," he says flatly to a girlfriend.

But even if Janowitz is a much more acute anthropologist of the drama and dysfunction of New York's art scene in the 1980s, she too has struggled all her writing life with ambivalence toward the whole business of being a writer. Perhaps because success came suddenly and then never really came again, her initial posture of alienation remained intact over her career.

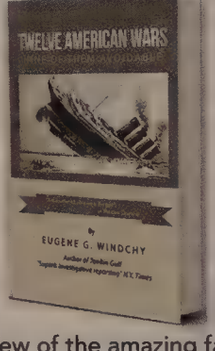
Janowitz doesn't complain as often about times gone by as McInerney does. She, on some level, has given up. Although she's produced many novels since *Slaves—A Cannibal in Manhattan*, *By the Shores of Gitchee Gumee*, *A Certain Age*, and *Peyton Amberg*, to name just a few—none of them succeeded, either critically or financially. In fact, she no longer even lives in New York City. It's hard to say whether that's our fault or hers; it could be both. But Janowitz is not the sort of person who feels encouraged by the challenge. Instead, she feels irritated—by fame, money, history, all of it. She is ambivalent no more.

This is clearly in evidence in *Scream*, her new memoir, which came out this fall. Both mercifully and frustratingly, it is a reluctant document of Janowitz's brief fame. She hates having to write about her early years and couldn't be more pointed about that fact, carelessly tossing off entire chapters on subjects the reader desperately wants her to elaborate on—her friendship with Lou Reed, for example, or with Andy Warhol. "He was alone. He was lonely," she writes brusquely of Warhol. "He missed his mother, who he had lived with up until her death." Of Lou Reed, we get merely hints of a personality: "And you could see that some part of him really wasn't there."

But Janowitz can write with bracing insight about the economic as well as the emotional lives of New York's young and ambitious bohemians. Another observation about Warhol, for example, cuts into the art scene with a rough-edged honesty:

> You want to have rich friends, if you are poor, but you want to have their

TWELVE AMERICAN WARS
NINE OF THEM AVOIDABLE
by EUGENE G. WINDCHY
Author of *Tonkin Gulf*
"Superb investigative reporting"—*NY Times*



A few of the amazing facts about **American wars**:

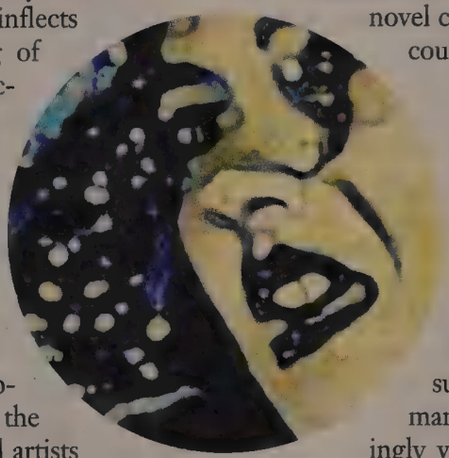
- Five years before the Civil War, Southern lawmakers, arguing a need for dignity, made sure U.S. Navy ships would be too big and heavy to enter Southern harbors.
- The Confederacy could have taken Fort Sumter without a battle—but low level negotiators wanted a war.
- Hoping to bring the U.S. into World War I, the British routed the Lusitania into danger and canceled its convoy.

Kindle $3.03 at Amazon

money. But the rich people don't really want to have to spend their money on you. The richer the person, the cheaper they are.

In some ways Andy was very generous; he always took me out to dinner.

There is an admirable spirit of rebellion here, an unwillingness to buy the notion of unhappy success that McInerney is still attempting to sell. Andy Warhol, after all, was a creature of "downtown" Manhattan par excellence. But Janowitz's eagerness to present her alliance with him as transactional is refreshing. She is also acutely sensitive to the way that power inflects and informs the making of art. The legend of the Factory is an important one, but Warhol's life as a businessman is just as important to consider as those long nights at Max's Kansas City.



One suspects that Janowitz's sensitivity to the way that power and capital impose themselves on the lives of young writers and artists is what has widened the gulf between her and McInerney over the years. Perhaps if Janowitz had been something more like an MVP for what McInerney calls "the Art and Love team," she would find it possible to feel more of a rose-hued yearning about it, to gaze at it longingly and lovingly enough to find inspiration in it. But things didn't work out that way. Instead, she has dropped into sourness—a kind that can be refreshing and offer a wisdom of its own, but that can also cause someone with something to say to produce a frustrated shout of a book like *Scream*. ■

Somewhere between Janowitz and McInerney lies the career of Bret Easton Ellis, now a creature chiefly of Twitter and Hollywood. That makes him sound like a frivolous younger brother, and he sometimes does seem like the only member of the trio who has managed to hold on to a youthful desire to shock. But Ellis is also the one who has managed to transcend the problems that have stranded both McInerney and Janowitz. In short, Ellis is the only one who can be said to have aged somewhat gracefully—which is not to say totally gracefully. But none of us do.

Though he doesn't resemble Fitzgerald in style, Ellis has all of the same preoccupations. He has achieved fame and gained in stature, and he doesn't seem to be struggling. He enjoys the glamour created by his achievements, but he also sees the problems with it. Even so, he cannot separate himself from that glamour, which is why he seems, in the last decade, to have moved on from novels and become someone who performs being a novelist. Perhaps one day he'll come back.

But in spite of himself, Ellis is often the most interesting of the three to hear from, even when he's dead wrong. The signal case here, needless to say, is *American Psycho*. Profane, violent, protested by Gloria Steinem, linked to the serial killer Paul Bernardo, disliked *even* by Norman Mailer, the novel created a furor that people could not ignore.

Mary Harron's much-praised 2000 film version of the story helped rehabilitate the book, at least somewhat, from the way it had been positioned by the innumerable op-eds it inspired by its sexism and carnage. "It was a surreal satire, and although many scenes were excruciatingly violent," Harron wrote in *The New York Times*, "it was clearly intended as a critique of male misogyny, not an endorsement of it."

Ellis is aware of this ambiguity, of course. He explored it in *Lunar Park*, the fake memoir he published in 2005, which framed the publication of *American Psycho* not just as his defining professional achievement, but as the launch pad for a psychological breakdown.

Resembling a Stephen King novel in conceit and plot, *Lunar Park* doesn't reflect the actual events. But there is a kind of truth reflected in Ellis's fictional account of a deteriorating mind:

> When I realized, to my horror, what this character wanted from me, I kept resisting, but the novel forced itself to be written.... It wrote itself, and didn't care how I felt about it.

Some might see self-justification here, but Ellis isn't a self-justifying sort of person. Likewise, he has rarely been interested in making sure that what he is up to is palatable. While this attitude of disregard can become a kind of unthinking fetish in and of itself, Ellis has never been able to let his nihilism slip into being simply nihilism.

Against his most compulsive desires, Ellis is something of a moralist. He is troubled by his flaws and the blind spots of his moment in a way that few of his contemporaries ever were; he knows there is "something wrong" with him and the world, and also with Twitter and Hollywood. But he can't look away or stop participating in it, and this fact leaves him deeply troubled.

It is perhaps this buried moralism that gives *American Psycho* its power. Filtered through Harron's lens, the novel's protagonist, Patrick Bateman, has arguably become the signature emblem of '80s excess and emptiness. His addiction to consumer products, his phony articulations of enthusiasm for Huey Lewis and the News, his inability to see other people as real: These are all heightened depictions of an age gone terribly wrong. In this way, Bateman is also the most socially grounded and contextualized character to emerge from the era. There is no convicted stockbroker, no hedonistic club kid, no disaffected fact-checker who better embodies the spirit of the age.

This doesn't make Bateman pleasant to read about. Years later, I would still rather rely on Ellis's gloss on him in *Lunar Park* than actually have to read long passages of *American Psycho*. Bateman is a character who meets the Freudian definition of the uncanny: On first encounter, you know you have seen his like before. And that gives us goose bumps, because we know that Bateman isn't really that much more psychotic than his age.

Ellis is able to bring to the surface an uncomfortable experience of the familiar, one that can leave the reader shrinking in disgust. But it's a disgust that teaches us something. It's a disgust that helps us better judge the excesses of our own lives; it allows us to be more honest about them. Ellis puts this best in *Lunar Park* when the Bret Easton Ellis character says to himself: "No one would ever say, I will show you what happened and I will make everything perfect by taking you to the vacant places where you won't need to think of this anymore."

"Taking you to the vacant places" is a pretty good description of what the Brat Pack once sought to do. They wanted to create novels that might capture their moment and their generation's sense of emptiness and alienation. The problem, of course, was what to do next. The hollowness of '80s materialism, the loss of purpose and hope, the struggle to express oneself in new and bold ways: These observations gained their meaning and power from the era in which they were experienced. But they cannot sustain a career or a life. They also cannot keep providing literature with the freshness of insight and social observation. Ellis found a way past these vacant spaces; McInerney and Janowitz appear to be stuck in them. ■

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THE DETAILS

The all-inclusive cost of this weeklong tour is $5,585—$5,990 per person (double/single occupancy) and includes round-trip chartered airfare from Tampa to Havana, six nights at the Hotel Capri, one evening at a private residence in Viñales, Cuban visas, all transportation within Cuba, tours, seminars, lectures, concerts, most of your meals, and many other captivating events and activities.

YOUR HOSTS

Peter Kornbluh

The longtime Cuba correspondent for *The Nation*, Peter Kornbluh, is Cuba analyst at the National Security Archive in Washington, DC. He is the author of *Bay of Pigs Declassified*, co-author of *The Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962,* and co-author of the recently published *Back Channel to Cuba: The Hidden History of Negotiations Between Washington and Havana*, chosen by *Foreign Affairs* as Best Book of the Year.

Charles Bittner

For almost two decades, Charles Bittner has served as *The Nation*'s academic liaison. He's hosted eight previous *Nation* trips to Cuba and teaches in the sociology department at St. John's University.

HIGHLIGHTS

- **Settle** into the historic, newly remodeled, four-star NH Hotel Capri La Habana, centrally located in a vibrant part of the Vedado district and its nearby jazz clubs and bohemian cafés.
- **Discuss** Cuban foreign policy and the coming changes with Carlos Alzugaray, former Cuban diplomat and expert on US-Cuba relations.
- **Enjoy** the beautiful Viñales Valley, stay in a private home for one night of dining and interaction with your Cuban host family, tour a bucolic private farm, and join the locals for their nightly fiesta in the town center.
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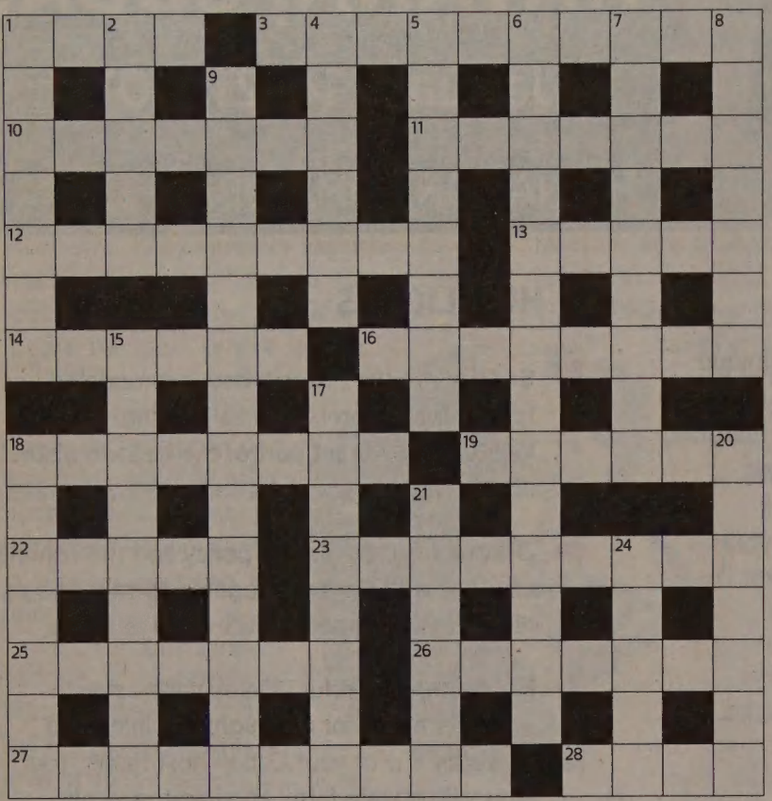
Puzzle No. 3411

JOSHUA KOSMAN AND HENRI PICCIOTTO



ACROSS

1 Feathers going the other way (4)

3 Political cartoonist admitting pointer to Canada's leader is not disseminated very widely (10)

10 Commercial for spicy dish produces one thousand (7)

11 Tune car differently (it's a hybrid) (7)

12 Clumsy teen love contributes to positive quality found in abundance (9)

13 Canoe wrecked in sea (5)

14 Contraption to improve morals? (6)

16 Following gang, I take a stab at a life of crime (8)

18 People who like to hang out in taverns and spew falsehoods (8)

19 Crazy caper to swallow a bit of drink—a kind of porter (6)

22 In retrospect, angry about Western state making up a fact (5)

23 One way to drive long distances: restricted, banished, willless (9)

25 Lose sight of mythical creature heading to destruction (2,5)

26 Ottawa leader resorted to panic (7)

27 Organ's collection of musical pieces grew audible (10)

28 Once again hide the truth, speaking for count (4)

DOWN

1 Don Draper at first supports Delaware lobster, for instance (7)

2 Dispense with a view erroneously (5)

4 Topless sailor's cry: "West, you betcha!" (3,3)

5 Santorum joins playwright in a no-emissions vehicle (8)

6 Woman in black adopts no Russian or French façade (6,8)

7 In the midst of a frolic, some primates might be like this clue (when you read it aloud) (9)

8 Party ran NYC sector as a dictatorship (7)

9 Traitor who is a newspaper writer about liquor? (5,9)

15 Actual island drain backs up after five (9)

17 Impersonate Gene's buffalo (8)

18 Villains, for example, wearing insignia with a final change of direction (3,4)

20 Self-righteous reformer originally committed to fine (7)

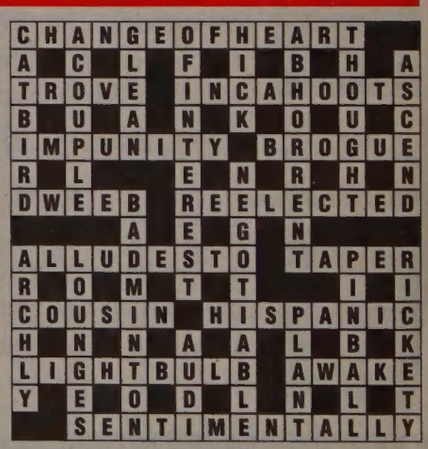
21 What connects you to piano paradise on Earth (6)

24 Air Force One runs on empty, in flames (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 3410

ACROSS 1 anag. (&lit.) 9 T + ROVE 10 INCA + HOOTS 11 IMP UNITY 12 2 defs. 14 D(WEE)B 16 REEL(ECT)ED (*etc.* anag.) 17 AL(LUDES)TO 19 2 defs. 22 COU(SI)N[t] (*is* rev.) 23 HIS PANIC 26 pun 27 AW + A + KE[pt] 28 SENT + I + MENTALLY

DOWN 1 CA(TBI)RD (*bit* anag.) 2 [m]A(COUP)LE[s] 3 init. letters (&lit.) 4 O(FIN)TEREST (*street* anag.) 5 HI-C + K 6 anag. 7 THOUGH + T 8 A + S(C)END 13 anag. 15 BAD MINT + ON 17 hidden 18 LO(UN)GES 20 PI(NBA)LL 21 anag. 24 P(L)ANT 25 AUDI[o]



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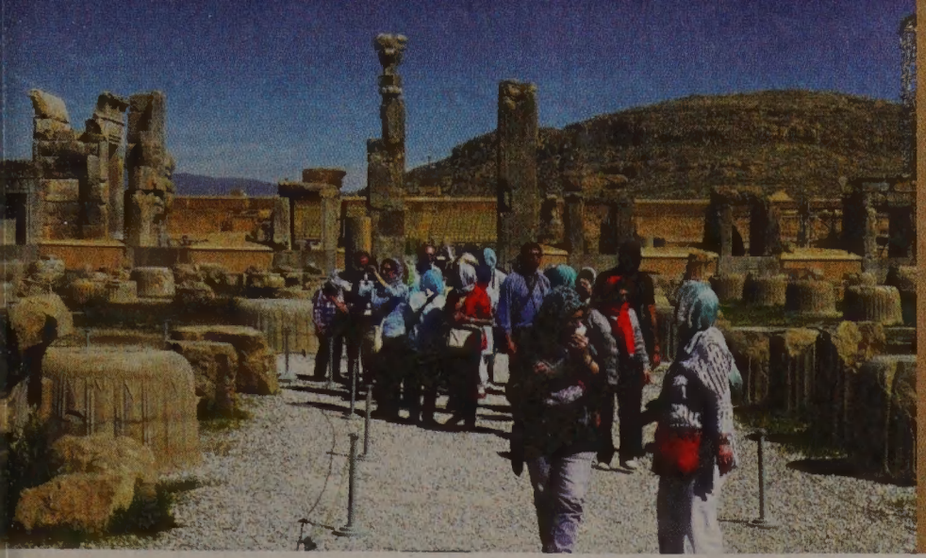

EXPLORE IRAN WITH *THE NATION*

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THE JOURNEY

This December, travel with *The Nation* on our second-ever guided tour of Iran. We'll spend 10 days exploring the cities of Tehran, Shiraz, Persepolis, Naqsh-e Rustam, Pasargadae, Nain, Isfahan, Kashan, and Qom. Undoubtedly, this trip offers a rare opportunity to experience the people, politics, culture, and history of a country that has been at the center of geopolitics for decades, yet that so few Americans have ever had an opportunity to visit.

Previous participants agree that Iran is a fascinating place to visit, that its people are exceptionally hospitable and generous, and that our delegation was treated with respect and kindness. Please note that the purpose of this trip is not political. Rather, our objective is to experience firsthand the culture and history of this important yet largely unfamiliar country.

THE DETAILS

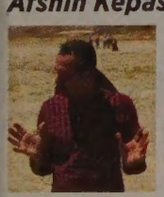
The all-inclusive cost of this tour is $7,265/$7,795 per person (double/single occupancy) and includes round-trip airfare from New York to Tehran; 10 nights at four- and five-star hotels throughout Iran; a one-way flight from Tehran to Shiraz; all travel authorizations and Iranian visas; group transportation; airport transfers; lectures; guided visits to Iran's renowned museums and historical sites; most meals; and many other captivating activities and events.

YOUR HOSTS

Charles Bittner

Charles is *The Nation*'s long-serving academic liaison, and he currently directs our cultural- and educational-exchange programs in Cuba and Iran. He also teaches in the sociology department at St. John's University in New York City.

Afshin Kepasa



Afshin is one of Iran's most experienced tour guides. He holds graduate degrees in modern languages and politics from the University of Tehran and will accompany us throughout our journey.

HIGHLIGHTS

- **Settle** into the historic five-star Espinas Hotel, a grand residence situated right in the heart of Tehran's city center.
- **Experience** the Tehran bazaar, a maze of alleyways that serves not only as the city's economic center, but also as the site of political debate in modern Iran.
- **Discuss** US-Iran relations and possibilities for engagement with political scientists from the University of Tehran.
- **Explore** Persepolis, the greatest embodiment of Persian culture. Established by Darius the Great, Persepolis was the ceremonial capital of the Achaemenid dynasty (550–330 BCE).
- **Enjoy** a day trip to Pasargadae, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, where we'll visit the tomb of Cyrus the Great.
- **Delight** your senses in Isfahan, considered by many to be Iran's most beautiful city. Situated on the banks of the Zayandeh River, the city sees hundreds of families gather in its public square, the second-largest in the world.
- **Admire** the extraordinary historic treasures excavated in Iran at the Niyavaran Palace Museum.
- **Visit** the Carpet Museum of Iran, which features beautiful displays that illustrate the stature of carpet weaving as both an art form and a reflection of Persian history and culture.
- **AND** much more! See the full itinerary at **TheNation.com/Iran.**

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